

*Tam Marti, Quam Mercurio.*



*The Noble and Learned Knight  
Sir Walter Raleigh.*



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**REMAINS**

OF

*Sir Walter Raleigh: K*

**MAXIMS of STATE.**

Advice to his Son : His Son's Advice to his Father.

His Sceptick.

Observations concerning the Causes of the Magnificency and Opulency of Cities.

*Sir Walter Raleigh's* Observations touching Trade and Commerce with the *Hollander* and other Nations ; proving that our Sea and Land Commodities in rich and strengthen other Countries against our own.

His Letters to divers Persons of Quality.

The Prerogative of **PARLIAMENTS** in *England*, proved in a Dialogue between a Counsellor of State and a Justice of Peace.

---

*With the Addition of some LETTERS never Printed before.*

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L O N D O N,

Printed for Henry Mortlock at the *Phoenix* in St. Paul's Church-yard, MDCCII.

31

# REMAINS

OF

SIR WALTER RALEIGH

IN THE YEAR 1602

AS HE WAS EXECUTED: His Son's Address to his

Countrymen

AND THE REMAINS OF HIS

WIFE AND CHILDREN

AND THE REMAINS OF HIS

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F I N I S.

# MAXIMS OF STATE. OF GOVERNMENT.

**G**overnment is of two sorts.  
 1. *Private*, Of himself, *Sobriety*; Of his Family, called *Oeconomy*.  
 2. *Publick*, Of the Commonwealth, called *Policy*. A Man must first govern himself, e're he be fit to govern a Family: And his Family, e're he be fit to bear the Government in the Commonwealth.

*Of Policy.*

**P**olicy is an Art of Government of a Commonwealth, and some part of it according

ding to that State, or form of Government, wherein it is settled for the publick good.

*State*, is the frame or set order of a Commonwealth, or of the Governors that rule the same, especially of the Chief and Sovereign Governor that commandeth the rest.

The State of Sovereignty consisteth in five points.

1. Making or annulling of Laws.
2. Creating and disposing of Magistrates.
3. Power over life and death.
4. Making of War, or Peace.
5. Highest or last appeal.

Where these five are, either in one or in more, there is the State.

These five points of State, rest either in,

1. One *Monarchy* or Kingdom.
2. Some few chief Men for Virtue and Wisdom, called *Aristocracy*.
3. Many, called a *Free State*, or *Popular State*.

These three sorts of Government have respect to the common good, and therefore are just and lawful States.

These three degenerate into three other Governments, viz.

- |                           |          |   |
|---------------------------|----------|---|
| 1. <i>Monarchy</i> .      | } into { | 1. <i>Tyranny</i> .   |
| 2. <i>Aristocracy</i> .   |          | 2. <i>Oligarchy</i> .   |
| 3. <i>Popular State</i> . |          | 3. <i>Commonwealth</i> or Government of all the common and baser sort, and therefore called a <i>Commonwealth</i> by usurped Nick-name. |

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## Maxims of State.

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These all respect their own, and not the publick good, and therefore are called *Bad Government*s.

### I.

#### *Monarchy.*

**A** *Monarchy*, or *Kingdom*, is the *Government* of a *State* by one *Head*, or *Chief*, tending to the common benefit of all.

*Monarchy*, or *Kingdoms*, are of three sorts, touching the right or possession of them, viz.

1. *Hereditary*, by descent, as the *English*, *French*, &c.

2. *Elective*, by suffrage of the other *Orders*, or some of them, as the *Polonian*.

3. *Mixt*, or of both kinds, viz. by descent, yet not tied to the next of Blood, as the ancient *Jewish State*.

*Monarchies* are of two sorts touching their power, or Authority, viz.

1. *Intire*. Where the whole power of ordering all *State* matters, both in *Peace* and *War*, doth by *Law* and *Custom* appertain to the *Prince*, as in the *English Kingdom*, where the *Prince* hath power to make *Laws*, *Leagues*, and *War*; To create *Magistrates*; To pardon life, of appeal, &c. Tho' to give a commitment to the other *Degrees*, they have a suffrage in making *Laws*, yet ever subject to the *Princes* pleasure, or negative will.

2. *Limited* or *restrained*, that hath no full power in all the points or matters of *State*, the *Military King* that hath not the *Sovereignty*



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veraignty in time of Peace, as the making of  
Laws, &c. But in War only, as the Polonian  
Kings.

### II.

#### *Aristocracy, or Senatorial State.*

**A**N *Aristocracy* is the Government of a  
Commonwealth by some competent  
number of the better sort, preferred for Wi-  
dom and other Virtues for the publick good.  
*Aristocracies* are of three sorts, viz. Where  
the *Senators* are chosen, for,

1. *Virtue, Riches, and the common good*  
as the *Venetian*.
2. *Virtue, and the publick good without*  
respect of wealth, as sometimes the *Roman*  
when some of the *Senators* were fetched from  
the plough, and some from the Schools.
3. *Virtue and Wealth, more respecting their*  
private, than their publick good, which in-  
clineth towards an *Oligarchy*, or the Govern-  
ment of the Richer or Nobler sort, as in  
*Rome* towards the end.

### III.

#### *Free State, or Popular State.*

**T**HE *Popular State* is the Government  
of a *State* by the choicer sort of Peo-  
ple, tending to the publick good of all sorts  
viz. with due respect of the better, nobler  
and richer sort.

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In every *Just State*, some part of the Government is, or ought to be imparted to the People; as in a Kingdom a voice or suffrage in making Laws; and sometimes also, in levying of Arms, (if the charge be great, and the Prince forced to borrow help of his Subjects) the matter rightly may be propounded to a Parliament, that the Tax may seem to have proceeded from themselves. So Consultations, and some proceedings in Judicial matters, may in part be referred to them. The reason, lest seeing themselves to be in no number, nor of reckoning, they dislike the State, or kind of Government: And where the multitude is discontented, there must needs be many Enemies to the present *State*. For which cause, Tyrants (which allow the People no manner of dealing in *State* matters) are forced to bereave them of their wits and weapons, and all other means whereby they may resist, or amend themselves, as in *Rusland, Turkey, &c.*

### IV.

#### *Tyranny.*

**A** *Tyranny* is the swerving, or distorting of a *Monarchy*, or the Government of one, tending not to the publick good, but the private benefit of himself and his followers. As in the *Russe* and *Turkish Government*, where the *State* and *Wealth* of other orders, are employed only to the upholding of the greatness of

the King or Emperor. This is the worst of all the *Bastard States*, because it is the perverting of the best Regiment, to wit, of a *Monarchy*, which resembleth the *Sovereign Government of God himself*.

## V.

*Oligarchy, or the Government of a few.*

**A**N *Oligarchy* is the swerving, or the corruption of an *Arifocracy*, or the Government of some few, that are of the Wealthier or Nobler sort, without any respect of the publick good. The chief end of these *Governors*, is their own greatness and enriching. And therefore their manner is, to prepare for means to uphold their Estates. This *State* is not wholly so bad, as is the *Tyranny*, and yet worse than the *Commonwealth*, because it respecteth the good of a few.

## VI.

*Commonwealth.*

**A** *Commonwealth* is the swerving or depravation of a free, or popular *State*, or the Government of the whole multitude of the base and poorer sort, without respect of the other Orders.

These two *States*, to wit, the *Oligarchy*, and *Commonwealth*, are very adverse the one to the other, and have many bickerings between

between them. For that the Richer or Nobler sort, suppose a right or superiority to appertain unto them in every respect, because they are superior, but in some respects only, to wit, in Riches, Birth, Parentage, &c. On the other side, the Common People suppose, there ought to be an equality in all other things, and some State-matters; because they are equal with the Rich or Noble, touching their Liberty, whereas indeed neither the one nor the other are simply equal or superior, as touching Government and fitness thereunto, because they are such, to wit, because they are Rich, Noble, Free, &c. but because they are Wise, Virtuous, Valiant, &c. and so have fit parts to Govern a State.

The several States are sometimes mixed, and inter-wrought one with the other, yet never so, as that the one hath the preheminent predominance over the other, as in the humors and complexions of the body. So in the Roman State, the people had their Plebiscita, and gave the suffrage in the election of Magistrates: Yet the Senate (as the State stood) for the most part swayed the State, and bare the chief rule. So in the Venetian State, the Duke seemeth to represent a Monarch, and the Senate to be his Council: Yet the Duke hath no power in State-matters, but is like a head set on by art, that beareth no brain. And so that State is Senatorial or Aristocratical.

*Causes of States and Commonwealths in general.*

Causes of States, or of Commonwealths are of three sorts, viz.

{	1. Founding, or settling a State where to be considered.	{	1. Measure.
	2. Preserving a State.		2. Parts, and their Qualities.
	3. Changing, and altering a State.		

*Founding a State.*

In *Founding a State* are to be considered two things.

{	1. Proportion.
	2. Parts.

**P**roportion, is a just measure or *Mediocrity* of the State, whereby it is framed and kept in that order, as that neither it exceed nor be defective in his kind, to wit, so that a Monarch be not too Monarchical, nor strict, or absolute, as the *Russe* Kings; nor *Aristocratical*, that is, over-mated, or eclipsed by the Nobility, as the *Scottish* Kingdom, but ever respective to the other degrees. That *Aristocracy* be not too magnificent nor intire to it self, but communicate with the People some commodities of State or Government, as the *Venetians*, and sometimes the *Roman* allowed the People to elect certain Magistrates out of themselves, to have a Tribune, to make *Plebiscita*, &c. So a *Free State* or *Commonwealth*, that it be not over popular, viz. That it depress not too much the richer, wiser, nor learned sort; but admit them to Offices with



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with a *Caution* out of the rules and mysteries of that *State*. That they seek no alteration of the present *State*. The reason, because the *moderate States* in their several kinds, (as all other things that observe the mean) are best framed for their continuance; because they give less cause of grudge, envy, and affecting the *Wealth, Honour, and Liberty* which they see in others that govern the *State*; and so are less subject to stirs and commotions, and easiest kept in their present *State* wherein they are set.

### Parts.

**T**HE parts of the *State*, or those *Magistrates* that bear place or sway in the publick *Government*.

Parts or Partakers of Publick Government, are,

1. *Council* or *Senate*, which consulteth of all matters pertaining to War and Peace, *Magistrates, &c.* in admitting of whom there ought to be a more special care, that they may be Men expert in matter of *Policy*, because it is their *Trade* and *Vocation*, as Men use to chuse *Pilots* and *Masters of Ships*, such as know the Art of *Navigation*, and not *Husband-men, &c.* And so the contrary.

2. *Magistrates* and *Officers*, which are to be executioners of that which is consulted, and found to be expedient for the *Commonwealth*, wherein are to be observed, the kinds of *Magistrates*, that they be such as fit that kind of *Government*; The time of their continuance, and the manner of their election or appoint-

ing, by whom, out of whom, and in what manner they be chosen.

3. *Judges*, To determine in *Civil* and *Criminal matters*, where are to be observed, out of whom they are to be chosen; what kinds are necessary, and the manner of *Judgment* and *Judicial* proceeding.

1. *Superiors*, which are to be such, and of that kind, as agree with the *State*, as *Consuls* for a Year, and not perpetual *Dictators* in a *Senatory State*. *Praetors*, and *Censors*, that oversee manners and orders of the People.

For a Kingdom, *Lieutenants* of Shires, *Marshals*, *Masters of Horse*, *Admirals*, &c.

1. *Civil*.

*Inferiors*, as *Conservators of Peace*, *Constables*, &c.

*Overseers of Youth*, that take care for their Education for *Civil* and *Warlike* exercise.

*Clerks of the Market* that provide for the quantity, and price of victual.

*Ediles* for *Buildings*, *Streets*, *Bounds*.

*Questors*,

In Magistrates are to be observed,

1. *Kinds of Magistrates*, as,

*Questors, or Treasurers, to keep and dispense the publick Treasury.*

*Assuaries, or Recorders, which keep the publick Records.*

*Goalers to keep Prisons and Prisoners.*

*Surveyors of Woods and Fields, &c.*

1. *As Bishops or Pastors, Elders, Wardens.*

2. *Ecclesia.*

*U. stical.*

2. *Time of Magistrates, whereof some are perpetual, some for a time, viz. for more years, a year, half a year, according to the necessity of the Commonwealth, and not perpetual; or at least not Hereditary in a Kingdom. Yearly in an Aristocracy, or half yearly in a Free State.*

3. *Manner of choice, by whom and how to be chosen, where especially they are to be chosen by Suffrage, and not by Lot.*

*Conse.*

*Causes of preserving a State, or Commonwealth.*

In preserving of States two things required.	{	1. Myste-	{	1. General, to all
		ries, or		States.
		Sophisms.		2. Particular, for eve-
		ry several State.		
	{	1. General, for all	{	1. General, for all
		States.		States.
		2. Rules,		2. Particular, for e-
		or Actions		very State.

*Mysteries or Sophisms.*

**M**ysteries, or Sophisms of State, are certain secret practices, either for the avoiding of danger, or averting such effects as tend to the preservation of the present State, as it is set or founded.

State Mysteries are of two sorts.

1. *General*: That pertain to all States; as first to provide by all means, that the same degree, or part of the Commonwealth, do not exceed both in *Quantity* and *Quality*. In *Quantity*, as that the number of the Nobility, or of great persons, be not more, than the State, or Commonwealth can bear. In *Quality*, as that none grow in Wealth, Liberty, Honour, &c. more than it is meet for that degree; For as in Weights, the heavier Weights bear down the Scale: So in Commonwealths, that part of degree that excelleth the rest in *Quality*, and *Quantity*, overstayeth the rest after it, whereof follow alterations, and

con-

conversions of State. Secondly, To provide by all means, that the middle sort of people exceed both the extreams, (*viz*) of Nobility and Gentry, and the base rascal, and beggarly sort. For this maketh the State constant and firm, when both the Extreams are tyed together by a middle sort, as it were with a band; as for any conspiracy of the rich and beggarly sort together, it is not to be feared. To these two points, the Particular rules in *Sophisms of every Commonwealth*, are to be applied.

2. Particular: That serve for preservation of every Commonwealth, in that form of State wherein it is settled, as in a Kingdom. That the Nobility may be accustomed to bear the Government of the Prince; especially such as have their dwelling in remote places from the Princes eye, it is expedient to call them up at certain times to the Princes Court, under pretence of doing them honour, or being desirous to see, and enjoy their presence, and to have their Children, especially their eldest, to be attendant upon the Prince, as of special favour towards them and theirs, that so they may be trained up in duty and obedience towards the Prince, and be as Hostages for the good behaviour, and faithful dealing of their Parents, especially, if they be of any suspected note. To that end serves the Persian practice, in having a Band, or Train of the Satrapa's Children, and other Nobles to attend the Court; which was well imitated by our Train of *Henchmen*, if they were of the Nobler



bler sort. Again, sometimes to borrow small sums of his Subjects, and to pay them again, that he may after borrow greater sums and never pay: So in an *Oligarchy*, lest it decline to a *Popular State*, they deceive the people with this and the like *Sophisms*, (*viz.*) They compel their own sort, to wit, the rich men, by great penalties, to frequent their Assemblies for choosing of Magistrates, for provision of Armour, Warlike Exercises, making an Execution of Laws, &c. By that means seeming to bear a hard hand over the richer, but to suffer the poorer, and meaner sort to be absent, and to neglect these Assemblies, under pretence, that they will not draw them from their business, and private earnings: Yet without to cite thither some few of them, (*viz.*) so many as are easily over-matched by the richer sort, to make a shew, that they would have the people or poorer sort, partakers likewise of those matters, yet terrifying those that come to their Assemblies, with the tediousness of consultations, greatness of Fines, if they should mis-do, to the end, to make them unwilling to come again, or to have to do with those Consultations, by which means, the richer sort do still govern the State, with the peoples liking, and good contentment.

*Axioms.*

*Axioms* or *Rules* of pre-  
serving the State are,  
 1. *General*, that serve for all  
   *Commonwealths.*  
 2. *Particular*, that serve for  
   every *several State.*

*General*

General Rules.

**T**HE first and principal Rule of Policy to be observed in all States, is to profess and practise, and maintain the true Worship and Religion of Almighty God prescribed unto us in his Word, which is the chief end of all Government. The Axiom, That God be obeyed simply without exception, though he command that which seemeth unreasonable, and absurd to Humane Policy; as in the Jews Commonwealth: That all the men should repair yearly to one place to Worship God four times, leaving none to defend their Coast, though being beset with many Enemies: Nor to sow the seventh year, but to suffer the ground to rest untill'd without respect or fear of famine, &c.

2. To avoid the causes of Conversion, whereby States are overthrowen, that are set down in the Title of Conversions: For that Commonwealths (as natural Bodies) are preserved by avoiding that which hurteth the health and State thereof, and are so cured by contrary Medicines.

3. To take heed, that no Magistrate be created or continued, contrary to the Laws and policy of that State. As that in a Senate, there be not created a perpetual Dictator, as Caesar in Rome. In a Kingdom, that there be no Senate, or Convention, of equal power with the Prince in State matters, as in Poland.

4. To

4. To create such *Magistrates* as love the *State* as it is settled, and take heed of the contrary practices, as to advance popular Persons in a Kingdom, or *Aristocracy*. And secondly, to advance such as have skill to discern what doth preserve, and what hurteth or altereth the present *State*.

5. To that end to have certain Officers to pry abroad, and to observe such as do not live and behave themselves in fit sort agreeable to the present *State*, but desire rather to be under some other form, or kind of *Government*.

6. To take heed that *Magistracies* be not sold for Money, nor bribe in their Offices, which is especially to be observed in that *Common-wealth*, which is governed by a few of the richer sort; For if the *Magistrate* gain nothing but his *Common Fees*, the common sort, and such as want honour, take in good part that they be not preferred; and are glad rather that themselves are suffered to intend private business. But if the *Magistrate* buy and sell matters, the common people are doubly grieved, both because they are debarred of those preferments, and of that gain they see to grow by them, which is the cause that the *German Oligarchies* continue so firm, for they both suffer the poorer sort to grow into wealth, and the richer sort are by that means freed, and secured from being under the poor.

7. To take heed that the *State*, as it is settled and maintained, be not overstrict, nor exceed

ceed in his kind; (*viz.*) That a Kingdom be not too Monarchical, nor a *Popular State* too *Popular*; For which cause it is good, that the Magistrates sometimes yield of their right touching honour, and behave themselves familiarly with those that are equal unto them in other parts, though inferior for place and office; And sometimes popularly with the common People, which is the cause that some *Commonwealths*, though they be very simply, and unskilfully set, yet continue firm, because the Magistrates behave themselves wisely, and with due respect towards the rest that are without honour; and therefore some kind of *Moderate Popularity* is to be used in every *Commonwealth*.

8. To take heed of small beginnings, and to meet with them even at the first, as well touching the breaking and altering of Laws, as of other rules which concern the continuance of every several State. For the disease and alteration of a *Commonwealth*, doth not happen all at once, but grows by degrees, which every common Wit cannot discern, but Men expert in *POLICY*.

9. To provide that that part be ever the greater in number and power, which favours the State as now it stands. This is to be observed as a very Oracle in all *Commonwealths*.

10. To observe a mean in all the degrees, and to suffer no part to exceed, or decay overmuch. As first for preferments, to provide that they be rather small and short, than great  
and



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and long; and if any be grown to overmuch greatness, to withdraw or diminish some part of his Honour. Where these *Sophisms* are to be practised, (*viz.*) to do it by parts and degrees; to do it by occasion, or colour of Law, and not all at once. And if that way serve not, to advance some other, of whose virtue and faithfulness, we are fully assured, to as high a degree, or to a greater honour, and to be the friends and followers of him that excelleth above that which is meet. Astouching Wealth, to provide, that those of the middle sort (as before was said) be more in number; and if any grow high, and overcharged with Wealth, to use the *Sophisms* of a *Popular State*, *viz.* to send him on Embassages, and Foreign Negotiations, or imploy him in some Office that hath great charges, and little honour, &c. To which end, the *Edileship* served in some Commonwealths.

11. To suppress the Factions, and Quarrels of the Nobles, and to keep others that are yet free from joyning with them in their Partakings and Factions.

12. To increase or remit the Common Taxes and Contributions, according to the Wealth, or Want of the People and Commonwealth. If the People be increased in Wealth, the Taxes and Subsidies may be increased. If they be poor, and their Wealth diminish, especially by dearth, want of Traffick, &c. to forbear Taxes and Impositions, or to take little. Otherwise grudge and discontentments must



must needs follow. The *Sophisms* that serve for Impositions, are these; and other of like sort, to pretend business of great charge, as War, building of Ships, making of Havens, Castles, Fortifications, &c. for the common Defence; sometimes by Lotteries, and like Devices, wherein some part may be bestowed, the rest reserved for other expenses; but Princely Dealings needs no preferences.

13. To provide that the *Discipline* and *Training* of Youth of the better sort be such as agreeth with that *Commonwealth*: As that in a Kingdom, the Sons of Noblemen to be attendant at the Court, that they may be accustomed to obedience towards the Prince. In the *Senatory State*, that the Sons of the *Senators* be not idly, nor overdaintily brought up, but well instructed and trained up in *Learning*, *Tongues*, and *Martial Exercise*; that they may be able to bear that place in the *Commonwealth*, which their Father held; and contrariwise in a *Popular State*.

14. To take heed, lest their *Sophisms* or secret practises for the continuance and maintenance of that *State* be not discovered; lest by that means they refuse and disappoint themselves, but wisely used, and be with great secrecy.

*Particular Rules.*

Rules and *Axioms* for prefer- } *Hereditary.*  
ving of a Kingdom. } *Conquered.*  
King-

*Kingdoms Hereditary, are preserved at home by the ordering.*

1. **H**imself, viz. By the tempering and moderation of the Princes Power and Prerogative. For the less and more temperate their Power and State is, the more firm, and stable is their Kingdom and Government; because they seem to be further off from a Master-like, and Tyrannical Empire; and less unequal in condition to the next degree, to wit, the Nobility, and so less subject to grudge and envy.

2. Nobility, &c. By keeping that degree and due proportion, that neither they exceed in number more than the Realm, or State can bear, as the Scottish Kingdom, and sometime the English, when the Realm was overcharged with the number of Dukes, Earls, and other Nobles; whereby the Authority of the Prince was eclipsed, and the Realm troubled with their Factions and Ambitions. Nor that any one excel in Honour, Power, or Wealth, as that he resembles another King within the Kingdom, as the House of Lancaster within this Realm. To that end, not to load any with too much Honour or Preferment, because it is hard even for the best, and worthiest Men, to bear their greatness, and high Fortune temperately, as appeareth by infinite examples in all States. The Sophisms for preventing, or reforming this inconvenience, are to be used with great caution  
and

and wisdom. If any great Person be to be abated, not to deal with him by *calumniation* or *forged matter*, and so to cut him off without desert, especially if he be gracious among the people, after the *Machiavilian Policy*, which besides the injustice, is an occasion many times of greater danger towards the Prince. Not to withdraw their Honour all at once, which maketh a desperate *discontentment* in the party, and a commiseration in the people, and so greater love, if he be gracious for his virtue, and publick service. Not to banish him into foreign Countries, where he may have opportunity of practising with *Foreign States*, whereof great danger may ensue, as in the example of *Coriolanus*, *Henry the fourth*, and such like. But to use these, and the like *Sophisms*, viz. To abate their greatness by degrees, as *David*, *Joab*, *Justinian*, *Belisarius*, &c. To advance some other Men to as great, or greater Honour, to shadow, or over-mate the greatness of the other. To draw from him by degrees his friends, and followers by *preferments*, *rewards*, and other good and lawful means; especially, to be provided that these great Men be not employed in great or powerful affairs of the *Commonwealth*, whereby they may have more opportunity to sway the *State*.

3. *People*, viz. So to order and behave himself, that he be loved and revered of the *People*. For that the Prince need not greatly fear home Conspiracies, or foreign Invasion, if he be firmly loved of his own  
 peo-

people. The reason, for that the Rebel can neither hope for any forces for so great enterprise, nor any refuge, being discovered and put to flight, if the multitude affect their Prince: But the common people being once offended, he hath cause to fear every moving, both at home and abroad. This may be effected by the Prince, if he use means and art of getting the favour of the people, and avoid those things that breed hatred and contempt, viz. if he seem as a Tutor, or a Father to love the people, and to protect them, if he maintain the peace of his Kingdom; for that nothing is more popular, nor more pleasing to the people, than is peace.

4. If he shew himself oftentimes graciously, yet with *State* and *Majesty* to his people, and receive complaints of his Suppliants, and such like.

5. If he sit himself sometimes in open Courts, and place of Justice, that he may seem to have a care of Justice among his people. If he bestow many benefits and graces upon that City, which he maketh the *seat of his Empire*, and so make it sure and faithful unto him, which is fit to be in the middle of his Kingdom, as the heart in the middle of the body, or the Sun in the middle of Heaven, both to divide himself more easily into all the parts of his Dominions; and lest the furthest parts at one end move, whilst the Prince is in the other. If he go in progress many times to see his Provinces, especially those that are remote.

6. If



6. If he gratifie his *Courtiers* and *Attendants* in that sort, and by such means, as that he may seem not to pleasure them with the hurt and injury of his people, as with *Monopolies*, and such like.

7. If he commit the handling of such things as procure envy, or seem grievous to his *Ministers*, but reserve those things which are grateful, and well pleasing to himself, as the *French Kings*, who for that purpose, as may seem, have erected their *Court* at *Paris*, which acquitteth the Prince from grudge and envy, both with the *Nobles* and the *People*.

8. If he borrows sometimes sums of money of his people, though he have no need, and pay the same justly without *defalcation* of any part by his *Exchequer*, or other *Officer*.

9. If he avoid all such things as may breed *hatred* or *contempt* of his person, which may be done, if he shew himself not too *light*, *inconstant*, *hard*, *cruel*, *effeminate*, *fearful*, and *dastardly*, &c. But contrariwise, *religious*, *grave*, *just*, *valiant*, &c. Whereby appeareth the false doctrine of the *Machiavilian Policy*, with far the better means to keep the people in obedience, than love, and reverence of the people towards the Prince.

10. If the Prince be well furnished with Warlike provision, which is to be rumoured, and made known abroad; if it be known, that he is revered, and obeyed by his people at home.

11. If



11. If he provide so much as lieth in him, that his Neighbour Kingdoms grow not overmuch in Power and Dominion; which if it happen, he is to joyn speedily with other Princes, which are in like danger, to abate that greatness, and to strengthen himself and the rest against it. An oversight of the Christian Princes towards the King of Spain.

12. If he get him Intelligencers by reward, or other means, to detect or hinder the designs of that Prince, with whom he hath differences, if any thing be intended against his State. Or at least have some of his own lodging abroad about that Princes Court, under colour of *Embassage*, or some other *pretence*; which must be Men of Skill and *Dexterity* to serve for that turn.

13. To observe the Laws of his Country, and not to encounter them with his *Prerogative*, nor to use it at all where there is a Law, for that it maketh a secret and just grudge in the peoples hearts, especially if it tend to take from them *their Commodities*, and to bestow them upon other of his COURTIERs and Ministers.

14. To provide especially, That that part, which *favoureth the State*, as it standeth, be more potent than the other which *favoureth it not*, or desireth a change.

15. To make special choice of good and sound Men to bear the place of *Magistrates*, especially of such as assist the Prince in his Counsels, and Policies, and not lean overmuch

to

to his own advice, contrary to the rule of Machiavil, who teacheth, That a Prince can receive no good counsel, except it be in himself; his reason, because if he use the counsel of some one, he is in danger to be over-wrought, and superintended by him; and if he counsel with more, then he shall be distracted with the differences in opinions. As if a Prince of great, or mean wisdom, could not take the Judgment of all his counsellors in any point of Policy, or of so many as he himself thinketh good, and to take either by word, or in writing; and himself then in private peruse them all, and so after good and mature deliberation, make choice of the best, without any distraction or binding himself to the direction of one. For the proverb is true, that two eyes see more than one; and therefore the advices, and Consultations of a Senatory State, is compared by some to a Feast, or Dinner, where many contribute towards the shot, by which means they have more variety of dishes, and so better fare. And yet every man may make choice of that dish that serveth him best for his health and appetite.

16. The Prince himself is to sit sometimes in place of publick justice, and to give an experiment of his wisdom and equity, whereby great reverence and estimation is gotten, as in the example of Solomon, which may seem the reason, why our Kings of England had their Kings Bench in place of publick Justice, after the manner of the ancient Kings that sat in the Gate; where, for better performing of this Princely duty, some special

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cau-

causes may be selected, which may thoroughly be debated and considered upon by the Prince in private, with the help and advice of his learned Council, and so be decided publickly as before is said, by the Prince himself; At least, the Prince is to take account of every Minister of publick Justice, that it may be known, that he hath a care of Justice, and doing right to his People, which makes the Justices also to be more careful in performing of their duties.

17. To be moderate in his Taxes, and Impositions; and when need doth require to use the Subjects Purse, to do it by Parliament, and with their consents, making the cause apparent to them, and shewing his unwillingness in charging them. Finally, to use it, that it may seem rather an offer from his Subjects, than an exaction by him.

18. To stop small beginnings; unto the end, to compound the dissensions that rise amongst the Nobles, with caution, that such as are free be not drawn into parts, whereby many times the Prince is endangered, and the whole *Commonwealth* set in a Combustion as in the example of the *Barons War*, and the late Wars of *France*, which grew from a quarrel betwixt the *Guise Faction*, and the other *Nobility*.

19. To stir up the People, if they grow secure, and negligent of Armour, and other provision for the *Commonwealth*, by some rumor or fear of danger at home, to make more ready

ready when occasion requireth. But this  
seldom to be used, lest it be supposed a false  
Alarm, when there is need indeed.

20. To have special care, that his children,  
specially the Heir apparent, have such bring-  
ing up as is meet for a King, viz. in Lear-  
ning, specially of matters pertaining to *State*,  
and in Martial exercise; contrary to the  
practice of many Princes, who suffer their  
children to be brought up in pleasure, and  
to spend their time in hunting, &c. which  
by reason of their defects, afterwards is a  
cause of mis-government and alteration of  
*State*.

## II.

*Kingdoms new gotten, or purchased by force, are  
preserved by these means.*

First, If they have been Subjects before  
to his Ancestors, or have the same  
tongue, manners or fashions, as have his  
own Country, it is an easie matter to retain  
such Countries within their obedience, in  
case the Princes Blood of the said Country  
be wholly extinct. For Men of the same  
quality, tongue, and condition, do easily shole,  
and combine themselves together, so much the  
rather, if the People of that Country have  
served before, and were not accustomed to  
their own Liberty, wherein especially is to be  
observed, that the Laws and Customs of that  
purchased Country be not altered nor inno-  
vated,



vated, or at least it be done by little and little. So the *Burgundians* and *Aquitans* were annexed to *France*. The reason, because partly they have been accustomed to *Servue*, and partly, for that they will not easily agree about any other to be their Prince, if the *Blood Royal* be once extinguished. As for the invasion of a Foreign Country, whereunto the Prince hath no right, or whereof the right Heir is living, it is not the part of a just Civil Prince, much less a Christian Prince, to enforce such a Country; and therefore, the *Machiavilian* practises in this case, to make sure work by extinguishing wholly the *Blood Royal*, is lewd and impertinent: The like is to be said of murdering the Natives, or the greatest part of them, to the end he may hold the rest in sure possession. A thing not only against *Christian Religion*, but it is inhumane injustice, cruel, and barbarous.

2. The safest way is, (supposing a right) that some good part of the Natives be transplanted into some other place, and our Colonies, consisting of so many as shall be thought meet, be planted there in some part of the Province, Castles, Ports, and Havens, seized upon, and more provided in fit places, as the manner was of the *Babylonian Monarch*, which Transplanted 10 Tribes of the Jews: And of the Romans in *France*, *Germany*, *Britany*, and other places. The reason:

1. For that otherwise Forces of Horse and Foot, are to be maintained within the  
Province



*Province*, which cannot be done without great charge.

2. For that the whole *Province* is troubled and grieved with removing and supplying the Army with Victuals, Carriages, &c.

3. For that Colonies are more sure and faithful, than the rest.

As for the Natives that are removed from their former seats, they have no means to hurt, and the rest of the Natives being free from the inconvenience, and fearing that themselves may be so served if they attempt any thing rashly, are content to be quiet.

The *Turks* practise in *Asia*, where the chief grounds and dwellings are possessed by the Souldiers, whom they call *Timariats*.

That the Prince have his seat and his residence, in his new purchase, especially, for a time, till things be well settled; especially if the *Province* be great and large, as the *Turks* in *Greece*: The reasons;

1. Because the presence of the Prince availeth much to keep things in order, and get the good will of his new Subjects.

2. They conceive that they have refuge by the Princes presence, if they be oppressed by the Lieutenants, and inferior Governors: Where it will be convenient for the winning the Peoples hearts, that some example be made of punish-

punishing of such as have committed any violence or oppression.

3. Because being present, he seeth and heareth what is thought and attempted; and so may quickly give remedy to it, which being absent, he cannot do, or not do in time.

4. If the Prince himself cannot be present to reside, then, to take heed that the charge of Governing, or new purchase be committed to such as be sure Men, and of other meet quality, that depend wholly upon the Princes favour, and not to Natives, or other of their own Subjects, that are gracious for their Nobility, or Virtue; especially, if the Province be great, and somewhat far distant, which may soon seduce the unsettled affections of those new Subjects; As for such Governors, as depend wholly upon the Princes favour, being not born, but created Noble, they will not so easily suffer themselves to be won from their duty, and in case they would revolt, yet they are not able to make any great strength, for that the People obey them but as Instruments and Ministers, to keep them in Subjection, and not for any ill will.

5. To have the Children of the chief Noble Men, and of greatest Authority, Hostages with these in safe keeping, the more the better: For that no bond is stronger, than that of Nature, to contain the Parents and Allies in obedience, and they the rest.

6. To alter the Laws but by degrees one after another, and to make other that are more

more behooveful for the establishing of the present Government.

7. To keep the People quiet and peaceable, and well affected so much as may be, that they may seem by being conquered, to have gotten a Protector, rather than a Tyrant; For the *Common People*, if they enjoy peace, and be not distracted nor drawn from their business, nor exacted upon beyond measure, are easily contained under obedience; yet notwithstanding, they are to be disuaded from the practice of Arms, and other Exercises which increase courage, and be weakened in *Armour*, that they have neither spirit, nor will to rebel.

8. If there be any Faction in the Country, to take to him the defence of the better and stronger part, and to combine with it, as *Cæsar* in *France*.

9. To look well to the *Borders*, and containing *Provinces*, and if any rule there of great, or equal power to himself, to join league with some other *Borderers*, though of less strength, to hinder the attempts (if any should be) by such neighbour Prince. For it happeneth often, that a Country infested by one neighbor Prince, calleth in another, of as great, or greater power to assist and rescue it from the other that invadeth it; as the *Romans* were called into *Greece*, by the *Ætolians*; the *Saxons*, by the *Britains*; the *Danes*, by the *Saxons*.

10. To leave their Titles and Dignities to the Natives, but the Command and Authority, wholly to his own.

11. Not

11. Not to put much trust, nor to practise too often the *Sophisms* of Policy, especially those that appertain to a Tyrannical State, which are soon detected by Men of Judgment, and so bring discredit to the Prince, and his Policy among the wiser, and better sort of his Subjects, whereof must needs follow very ill effects.

The *Sophisms* of Tyrants, are rather to be known, than practised, (which are for the supporting of their Tyrannical States) by wise and good Princes, and are these, and such like as follow.

*Rules of Politick Tyrants.*

**R**ules practised by Tyrants are of two sorts, viz.

1. *Barbarous*, and *Professed*, which is proper to those that have got head, and have power sufficient of themselves, without others help, as in the *Turkish* and *Russe* Government.

2. *Sophistical*, and *Dissembled*; As in some States that are reputed for good and lawful *Monarchies*, but inclining to *Tyrannies*, proper to those which are not yet settled, nor have power sufficient of themselves; but must use the power and help of others, and so are forced to be *Politick Sophisters*.

*Sophism*



I. *Maxims of a Barbarous and Professed Tyranny.*

**T**O expel and banish out of his Country all honest means, whereby his People may attain to learning, wisdom, valour and other virtues, that they might be fit for that State, and servile condition. For that these two, learning, and martial exercise, effect two things most dangerous to a Tyranny: viz. Wisdom and Valour. For that Men of spirit and understanding, can hardly endure a Servile State. To this end, to forbid learning of liberal Arts, and Martial exercise; As in the *Russe Government*, so *Julian the Apostate* dealt with the Christians. Contrariwise, to use his People to base occupations, and Mechanical Arts, to keep them from idleness, and to put away from them all high thoughts, and manly conceits, and to give them a liberty of drinking till drunk, and of other base and lewd conditions, that they may be sorted, and so made unfit for great enterprises. So the *Egyptian Kings* dealt with the *Hebrews*; so the *Russe Emperor* with his *Russe People*: And *Charles the Fifth* with the *Netherlanders*, when he purposed to enclose their priviledges, and to bring them under his absolute Government.

2. To make sure to him, and his State, his *Military Men* by reward, liberty, and other means, especially, his Guard, or *Præ-*



*torian Band*; That being partakers of the spoil and benefit, they may like that *State*, and continue firm to it; as the *Turk*, his *Jannizaries*; the *Russe*, his *Boynrens*, &c.

3. To unarm his People of weapons, money, and all means, whereby they may resist his power; and to that end, to have his extraordinary exactions, &c. once in two, three, or four years, and sometimes yearly, as the *Turk* and *Russe*; who is wont to say, *That his People must be used as his flock of sheep, viz., Their fleece taken from them, lest it overlade them, and grow too heavy; that they are like to his beard, that the more it was shaven, the thicker it would grow.* And if there be any of extraordinary wealth, to borrow of them in the mean while, till the Tax come about, or upon some devised matter, to confiscate their goods, as the common practice is of the *Russe* and *Turk*.

4. To be still in Wars, to the end his People may need a Captain; and that his Forces may be kept in practice, as the *Russe* doth yearly against the *Tartar*, *Polonian*, and *Sweden*, &c.

5. To cut off such as excel the rest in wealth, favour or nobility; or be of a pregnant, or aspiring wit, and so are fearful to a Tyrant; and to suffer none to hold Office, or any Honour, but only of him; as the *Turk* his *Bashaes*, and the *Russe* his *Ruzzes*.

6. To forbid Guilds, Brotherhoods, Feastings, and other Assemblies among the People, that they have no means or opportunity to conspire,

conspire, or confer together of publick matters, or to maintain love amongst themselves, which is very dangerous to a Tyrant, the *Russe* practice.

7. To have their Beagles, or Listners in every corner, and parts of the Realm; especially, in places that are most suspect, to learn what every Man saith, or thinketh; that they may prevent all attempts, and take away such as mislike their State.

8. To make Schism and Division among his Subjects, viz. To set one Nobleman against another, and one rich Man against another, that through Faction and disagreement among themselves, they may be weakened, and attempt nothing against him, and by this means entertaining whisperings, and complaints, he may know the secrers of both parts, and have matter against them both, when need requireth. So the *Russe* made the division of the *Zemsky*, and the Oppression.

9. To have Strangers for his Guard, and entertain *Parasites*, and other base and servile Fellows, not too wise, and yet subtile, that will be ready for reward to do and execute what he commandeth, though never so wicked and unjust. For that good Men cannot flatter, and wise Men cannot serve a Tyrant.

All these practices, and such like, may be contracted into one or two, viz. To bereave his Subjects of will and power to do him hurt, or to alter the present State. The use is Caution, not Imitation.

## II.

*Sophisms of the Sophistical, or subtle Tyrant,  
to hold up his State.*

1. **T**O make shew of a good King, by observing a temper and mediocrity in his Government, and whole course of life to which end, it is necessary, that this subtle Tyrant, be a cunning Polititian, or a Machiavilian at the least, and that he be taken so to be, for that it maketh him more to be feared and regarded, and is thought thereby not unworthy for to govern others.

2. To make shew not of severity, but of gravity, by seeming reverend, and not terrible in his speech, and gesture, and habit, and other demeanor.

3. To pretend care of the Commonwealth; and to that end, to seem loth to exact Tributes, and other charges; and yet to make necessity of it, where none is: To that end to procure such War as can bring no danger towards his State, and that might easily be compounded, or some other chargeable business; and to continue it on, that he may continue his exaction and contribution so long as he list. And thereof to imploy some in his publick service, the rest to hoard up in his Treasury, which is sometimes practised even by lawful Princes, as Edward the Fourth in his Wars against France, when having levied a great summe of Mony through-

out his Realm, especially of the *Londoners*, he went over Seas, and returned without doing any thing.

4. Sometimes to give an account by open speech, and publick writing, of the expence of such Taxes and Impositions, as he hath received of his Subjects, that he may seem to be a good Husband and frugal, and not a robber of the Commonwealth.

5. To that end, to bestow some cost upon publick buildings, or some other work for the common good, especially upon the Ports, Harbours, and chief Cities of his Realm, that so he may seem a Benefactor, and have a delight in the adorning of his Country, or doing some good for it.

6. To forbid feasting, and other meetings, which increase love, and give opportunity to confer together of publick matters, under pretence of saving cost for better uses. To that end the Curfew Bell was first ordained by *William the Conqueror*, to give Men warning to repair home at a certain hour.

7. To take heed that no one grow to be over great, but rather, many equally great, that they may envy and contend one with another; and if he resolve to weaken any of this sort, to do it warily and by degrees; If quite to wreck him, and to have his life, yet to give him a lawful tryal, after the manner of his Country: And if he proceed so far with any of great power and estimation, as to do him contumely, or disgrace, not to suffer him to escape, because contumely and disgrace,

disgrace, are things contrary unto Honour, which great Spirits do most desire, and so are moved rather to a revenge for their disgrace, than to any thankfulness, or acknowledging the Princes favour for their pardon or dismissal: True in *Atheists*, but not in true *Christian Nobility*.

8. To unarm his People, and store up their weapons, under pretence of keeping them safe, and having them ready when service requireth, and then to arm them with such, and as many as he shall think meet, and to commit them to such as are sure Men.

9. To make schism and division underhand among his Nobility, and betwixt the Nobility, and the People, and to set one Rich Man against another, that they combine not together, and that himself by hearing the griefs and complaints, may know the secrets of both parties, and so have matter against them both, when it listeth him to call them to an account.

10. To offer no Man any contumely or wrong, specially, about Womens matters, by attempting the chastity of their Wives or Daughters, which hath been the ruin of many Tyrants, and conversion of their States. As of *Tarquinius*, by *Brutus*, *Appius*, by *Virginius*, *Pisistratus*, by *Harmodius*, *Alexander Medicus*, Duke of Florence, *Aloisus* of *Placentia*, *Rodericus* King of *Spain*, &c.

11. To that end, to be moderate in his pleasures, or to use them closely that he be not seen; For that Men sober, or watchful,

or



or such as seem so, are not lightly subject to contempt, or conspiracies of their own.

12. To reward such as achieve some great or commendable enterprize; or do any special action for the Commonwealth, in that manner as it may seem; they could not be better regarded, in case they lived in a *Free State*.

13. All rewards, and things grateful, to come from himself, but all punishments, executions, and things ungrateful, to come from his Officers, and publick Ministers; And when he hath effected what he would by them, he see his People discontented withal, to make them a Sacrifice to pacifie his Subjects.

14. To pretend great care of Religion, and of serving God, (which hath been the manner of the wickedest Tyrants) for that People do less fear any hurt from those, whom they do think Virtuous and Religious, nor attempt likely to do them hurt, for that they think that God protects them.

15. To have a strong and sure Guard of Foreign Soldiers, and to bind them by good turns, that they having at least profit, may depend upon him and the present State; As *Caligula*, the *German Guard*, where the Nobility are many and mighty. The like practised by Lawful Kings, as by the *French King*.

16. To procure that other great Persons be in the same fault, or case with them, that for that cause they be forced to defend the **T Y R A N T**, for their own safety.

17. To

17. To take part, and to joyn himself with the stronger part; if the Common People, and mean degree be the stronger, to joyn with them; if the Rich and Noble, to joyn with them. For so that part with his own strength, will be ever able to overmatch the other.

18. So to frame his manners and whole behaviour, as that he may seem if not perfectly good, yet tolerably evil, or somewhat good, somewhat bad.

These Rules of Hypocritical Tyrants are to be known, that they may be avoided, and met withal, and not drawn into imitation.

*Preservation of an Aristocracy.*

**R**ules to preserve a *Senatory State*, are partly taken from the common Axioms, and partly from those that preserve a Kingdom.

*Preservation of an* { *Sophisms.*  
*Oligarchy, by* { *Rules.*

1. **I**N Consultations and Assemblies about publick Affairs, to order the matter, that all may have liberty to frequent their Common Assemblies, and Councils; but to impose a Fine upon the richer sort, if they omit that duty. On the other side, to pardon the People, if they absent themselves, and to bear with them under pretence, that they

They may the better intend their Occupations, and not be hindred in their Trades, and Earnings.

2. In election of Magistrates, and Officers: To suffer the poorer sort to vow, and abate the bearing of Office, under colour of sparing them, or to enjoin some great charge, incident to the Office, which the poor cannot bear. But to impose some great Fine on those that be rich, if they refuse to bear Office, being Elect unto it.

3. In judicial matters: In like manner to order, that the People may be absent from publick Tryals, under pretence of following their business. But the richer to be present, and to compel them by Fines, to frequent the Court.

4. In Warlike Exercise and Arms: That the poor be not forced to have Armour, Horse, &c. under pretence of sparing their cost, nor to be drawn from their Trades by Martial exercises; but to compel the richer sort to keep their proportion of Armour, Horse, &c. by excessive Fines, and to exercise themselves in Warlike matters, &c.

5. To have special care of instructing their Children in liberal Arts, Policy, and Warlike Exercise, and to observe good order and discipline. For as *Popular States* are preserved by the frequency, and liberty of the People, so this Government of the Richer, is preserved by discipline, and good order of *Governors*.

6. To

6. To provide good store of warlike furniture, especially of *Horse and Horsemen*, and of *Armed-men*, viz. *Pike*, &c. which are proper to the Gentry, as *Shot*, and light furniture are for a *Popular Company*.

7. To put in practice some points of a *Popular State*; viz. To lade no one Man with too much preferment; to make yearly or half years *Magistrates*, &c. For that the people are pleased with such things, and they are better secured by this means from the rule of one. And if any grow to too much greatness, to abate him by the *Sophisms* fit for this State.

8. To commit the Offices and Magistracies, to those that are best able to bear the greatest charges for publick matters, which both tendeth to the conservation of this State, and pleaseth the people, for that they reap some relief and benefit by it.

9. To the same end, to contract Marriages among themselves; the rich with the rich, &c.

10. In some things which concern not the *Points*, and *matters of State*, as electing *Magistrates*, making *Laws*, &c. to give an equality, or sometimes a preferment to the *Common People*, and not to do, as in some *Oligarchies* they were wont; viz. To swear against the People, to suppress and bridle them; but rather contrary, to minister an Oath at their admission, *That they shall do no wrong to any of the People*; and if any of the richer

richer offer *wrong* to any of the *Commons*; to shew some example of severe punishment.

For other *Axioms* that preserve this State, they are to be borrowed from those other rules that tend to the preserving of a *Popular*, and *Tyrannical State*; for the strict kind of *Oligarchy* is kin to a *Tyranny*.

Preservation of a Po-  
pular State.

} *Sophisms.*  
} *Rules or Axioms.*

1. **I**N publick Assemblies and Consultations about matters of State, creating of Magistrates, publick Justice, and Exercise of Arms, to practise the contrary to the former kind of Government, to wit, an *Oligarchy*. For in *Popular States*, the *Commons* and meaner sort are to be drawn to those Assemblies, Magistrates, Officers, Warlike Exercise, &c. by mulcts and rewards, and the richer sort are to be spared, and not to be forced by fine, or otherwise, to frequent these Exercises.

2. To make shew of honouring and reverencing the richer Men, and not to swear against them, as the manner hath been in some *Popular State*; but rather to prefer them in all other matters that concern not the State and publick Government.

3. To elect Magistrates from among the *Commons* by Lot, or Balloting, and not to chuse any for their wealths sake.

4. To



4. To take heed that no Man bear Office twice, except it be Military, where the pay and salary, &c. is to be reserved into their own hands, to be disposed of by a Common Council, &c. And to see that no Man be too highly preferred.

5. That no Magistracy be perpetual, but as short as may be, to wit, for a year, half a year, &c.

6. To compel Magistrates, when their time expireth, to give an account of their Behaviour and Government, and that publickly before the Commons.

7. To have publick Salaries and Allowance of their Magistrates, Judges, &c. and yearly Dividends for the common People, and such as have most need among them.

8. To make Judges of all matters out of all sorts, so they have some aptness to perform that Duty.

9. To provide that publick Judgments and Tryals be not frequent; and to that end to inflict great Fines and other Punishments upon Pettifoggers and Dilators, as the Law of requital, &c. Because for the most part the richer and nobler, and not the Commons, are indicted and accused in this Commonwealth, which causeth the rich to conspire against the State; whereby many times the Popular State is turned into an *Oligarchy*, or some other Government. Here-to tendeth that Art of Civil Law, made against Accusers and Calumniators: Ad

*Senatus-consultum Turpilianum, l. 1. de Calumniariis.*

10. In such free States as are popular, and have no revenue, to provide that publick Assemblies be not too often: because they want Salaries for Pleaders and Orators; and if they be rich, yet to be wary, that all the revenue be not divided amongst the Commons. For that this distribution of the common Revenue among the multitude, is like a purse or barrel without a bottom. But to provide, that a sufficient part of the revenue be stored up for the publick affairs.

11. If the number of the poor increase too much in this kind of State, to send some abroad out of the Cities, into the next Country-places, and to provide above all, that none do live idly, but be set to their Trades. To this end, to provide that the richer Men place in their Farms and Copyholds, such decayed Citizens.

12. To be well advised what is good for this State, and not to suppose that to be fit for a popular State, that seemeth most popular; but that which is, be for the continuance thereof: And to that end, not to lay into the *Exchequer* or *Common Treasury*, such goods as are confiscate, but to store them up as holy and consecrate things, which except it be practised, confiscations, and fines of the common People would be frequent, and so this State would decay by weakening the People.

*Conversion of States in general.*

**C**ONVERSION of a State. is the declining of the Commonwealth, either to some other form of Government, or to his full and last period appointed by God.

*Causes of Conversions of States are of two sorts:  
General and Particular.*

**G**ENERAL, (*viz.*) 1. Want of Religion; *viz.* of the true Knowledge and Worship of God, prescribed in his Word; and notable Sins that proceed from thence in Prince and People, as in the Examples of Saul, Uzziah, the Jewish State, the four Monarchies, and all other.

2. Want of Wisdom and good Counsel to keep the State, the Prince, Nobles, and People in good temper, and due proportion, according to their several order and degrees.

3. Want of Justice either in administration (as ill Laws, or ill Magistrates) or in the execution, as rewards not given where they should be, or there bestowed where they should not be, or punishments not inflicted where they should be.

4. Want of power and sufficiency to maintain and defend it self, *viz.* Of provision, as Armour, Money, Captains, Soldiers, &c. Execution, when the means or provision is not used, or ill used.

5. *Particular:*

5. *Particular*: To be noted and collected out of the contraries of those rules, that are prescribed for the preservation of the Commonwealth.

*Particular causes of Conversion of States, are of two sorts.*

1. **F**oreign: By the over-greatness of invasion of some Foreign Kingdom, or other State of meaner power, having a part within our own, which are to be prevented by the providence of the chief, and rules of policy for the preserving of every State: This falleth out very seldom for the great difficulty to overthrow a foreign State.

2. *Domestick*. { Sedition or open violence by the stronger part.  
Alteration without violence.

*Sedition.*

**S**edition is a power of Inferiors, opposing it self with force of Arms against the Superior Power. *Quasi ditio secedens.*

*Causes of Sedition are of two sorts.*

1. *General*. { *Liberty*. { **W**hen they that are of equal quality in a Commonwealth, or do take themselves so to be, are not regarded

regarded equally in all, or any of these three.

*Rixas.*

Or, when they are so equal in quality, or take themselves so to be, are regarded but equally, or with less respect than those that be of less defect in these three things, or in any of them.

*Honour.*

1. **I**N the chief: Covetousness or Oppression, by the Magistrate or higher Power, (*viz.*) when the Magistrates, especially the chief, encreaseth his Substance and Revenue beyond measure, (either with the publick or private Calamity, whereby the Governors grow to quarrel among themselves as in *Oligarchies*) or the other degrees conspire together, and make Quarrel against the Chief, as in Kingdoms: The Examples of *Wat Tyler*, *Jack Straw*, &c.

2. In the chief: Injury, when great Spirits, and of great Power, are greatly wronged and dishonoured, or take themselves so to be; as *Coriolanus*, *Cyrus minor*, *Earl of Warwick*. In which Causes, the best way is to decide the wrong.

3. Preferment, or want of Preferment; wherein some have over much, and so wax proud, and aspire higher: Or have more or less than they deserve, as they suppose, and so in Envy and Dildain, seek Innovation by open Faction, so *Cæsar*, &c.

4. Some



4. Some great Necessity or Calamity : So Xerxes after the foil of his great Army. and Senacherib after the Loss of 185000 in one Night.

1. **E**Nvy, when the chief exceeds the mediocrity before-mentioned, and so provoketh the Nobility and other degrees, to conspire against him, as Brutus, Cassius, &c. against Caesar.

2. **F**ear, viz. Of danger, when one or more dispatch the Prince by secret practice or force, to prevent his own danger, as Artabanus did Xerxes.

3. **L**ast or Lechery, as Tarquinius Superbus by Brutus, Pisistratinda by Armodius, Appius by Virginus.

4. **C**ontempt, For vile quality and base behaviour, as Sardanapalus by Arbaces, Dionysius the younger by Dion.

5. **C**ontumely ; when some great disgrace is done to some of great Spirit, who standeth upon his honour and reputation, as Caligula by Chareas.

6. **H**ope of Advancement, or some great profit, as Mithridates, Anabarsanes.

D

Alteration

*Alteration without Violence.*

**C**Auses of alteration without violence are; 1. *Excess* of the State; when degrees the State groweth from that temperance and mediocrity wherein it was, or thence have been settled, and exceedeth in power, riches, and absoluteness in his kind, by ambition and covetousness of the chief, in moderate Taxes, and Impositions, &c. applying all to his own benefit, without respect of other degrees, and so in the end changeth it self into another State or Form of Government, as a Kingdom into a Tyranny, an Oligarchy into an Aristocracy.

2. *Excess*, of some one or more in a Commonwealth; viz. When some one or more in a Commonwealth grow to an excellency or excel above the rest, either in honour, wealth, or virtue; and so by permission and popular favour, are advanced to the Sovereignty; by which means, popular States grow into Oligarchies; and Oligarchies and Aristocracies into Monarchies. For which cause the Athenians and some other free States, made their Laws of Ostracismos, to banish any for a time that should excel, though it were in virtue, to prevent the alteration of their State; which because it is an unjust Law, 'tis better to take heed at the beginning to prevent the means, that none should grow to that height and excellency, than to use a sharp and unjust a remedy.

F I N I S.

Method how to make use of  
the Book before in the reading  
of the Story.

**D**AVID being seventy years of  
age, ~~was~~ of wisdom, memory, &c.  
sufficient to govern his Kingdom,  
1 Reg. Cap. 1.

Old Age is not ever unfit for publick  
Government.

**D**Avid being of great years, and so hav-  
ing a cold, dry, and impotent body, mar-  
ried with Abishag, a fair Maid, of the best  
complexion through the whole Realm, to revive  
his body, and prolong his life, 1 Reg. Cap. 1.  
Vers. 3.

Example of the like practice in Charles V.

**D**Avid being old and impotent of body, by  
the advice of his Nobles and Physicians,  
married a young Maid called Abishag, to warm  
and preserve his old body.

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Observation.

**W**Hether David did well in marrying a Maid? and whether it be lawful for an old decayed and impotent Man, to marry a young Woman? Or on the other side, for an old, weak and decrepit Woman, to marry a young and lively Man?

For the Affirmative.

**A**RG. The end of Marriage is Society and mutual comfort; but there may be Society and mutual comfort in a Marriage betwixt an old and young party. Ergo, 'tis lawful.

Ans<sup>r</sup>. Society and comfort is a cause and effect of Marriage; but none of the principal ends of Marriage: which are,

1. Procreation of Children, and so the continuance of Mankind.
2. The avoiding of Fornication.

As for comfort and society, they may be betwixt Man and Man, Woman and Woman, where Marriage is, and therefore no proper ends of Marriage.

The Negative.

**A**RG. 1. That Conjunction, which hath no respect to the right and proper ends, for which Marriage was ordained by God, is no lawful Marriage. But the Conjunction betwixt an old impotent and young party, hath no respect

right end, for which Marriage was ordained  
God. Therefore is no lawful Marriage.

2. No contract, wherein the party contracting,  
bindeth himself to an impossible condition, or to  
that which he cannot do, is good or lawful.  
3. The contract of Marriage by an impotent per-  
son with a young party, bindeth him to an im-  
possible condition to do that which he cannot do,  
4. to perform the duties of Marriage; There-  
fore it is unlawful.

For the same cause, the Civil Law determineth  
nullity in these Marriages, except the Woman  
know before the infirmity of the Man, in which  
case she can have no wrong, being a thing done  
with her own knowledge and consent, because Vo-  
lenti non fit injuria: — In legem Ju-  
lian. de adulteris leg. Si Uxor, &c.

It provideth further, for the more certainty of  
the infirmity, that three years be expired before  
the dissolution of the Marriage, because that Men  
that have been infirm at the first, by reason of  
sickness, or some other accident, afterwards  
proved to be sufficient: De repudiis leg. in  
causis.

Defence for David, in marrying Abisbag.

1. **I** was rather a Medicine, than a Marriage,  
without any evil, or disordered affection.

2. It was by the perswasion of his Nobles, and  
Physitians.

3. It was for the publick good, to prolong the  
life of a worthy Prince.



4. It was with the knowledge and consent of the young Maid, who was made acquainted with the Kings infirmity, and to that end she was married unto him; who if she did it for the common good, and for duties sake, having withal the gift of continency, she is to be commended; if for ambition, or some vain respect, it is her own, and not Davids fault.

## Political Nobility.

*Adonijah aspiring to the Kingdom.*

**F**irst, Took the advantage of Davids affection and kindness towards him, and made him secure of any ill dealing.

Secondly, Of his age and infirmities, disabling his Father as unfit for Government.

Thirdly, Blazed his Title, and Right to the Crown.

Fourthly, Got him Chariots, Horsemen, and Footmen, and a guard to make shew of State.

Fifthly, Being a comely, and goodly Person, made a popular shew of himself, and his qualities.

Sixthly, Joynd to himself in Faction Joab, the General of the Army, who was in displeasure for murdering of Abner, and Amaza, and feared that David would supply Benaiah in his place; and so was discontented. And Abiathar the High Priest, that was likewise discontented with David, for the preferment of Zadock.

Seventhly,

## Maxims of State. 55

Seventhly, Had meetings with them, and other Confederates, under pretence of a vow, and being at the Fountain of Raguel, in the confines of Judea.

Eighthly, Made a shew of Religion by Sacrificing, &c.

Ninthly, Made himself familiar with the Nobles and People, and entertained them with feasting.

Tenthly, Draw into his part the chief Officers of the Court, and Servants to the King, by Rewards, Familiarity, &c.

Eleventhly, Disgraced and abased the Competitor, and such as he knew would take part with him, and conceal his ambition, and purchase from them.

Twelfthly, Had Jonathan a Favourite of the Court, and near about the King, to give him intelligence, if any thing were discovered, and moved at the Court, whilst himself was in hand about his practice.

## OBSERVATIONS.

Ways of such as aspire to the Kingdom, and Marks to discern them.

1. **T**hey wind into the Princes favour by service, officiousness, flattery, &c. to plant in him a good opinion of their loyalty and faithfulness, thereby to make him secure of their practices.

2. They take advantage of the Princes infirmities, age, impotency negligence, sex, &c. And  
D 4 work

work upon that by disabling the Prince, and secret detracting of his State, and Government.

3. They blaze their Title, and claim to the Crown, if they have any, with their friends and favourites.

4. They provide them in secret of extraordinary forces, and furniture for the Wars, make much of good Souldiers, and have a pretence (if it be espied) of some other end, as for the Kings honour or service, and to be in readiness against foreign enemies, &c.

5. They make open shew of their best qualities and comeliness of their persons, (which though it be vain as a dumb shew, it is very effectual to win the liking of the popular sort, which according to the rules of the electing of Kings, in the Beech Commonwealth, think that *Forma est digna imperare*) Activity, Nobility, Ancestry, &c.

6. To have their blazers abroad to set out their virtues, and to prepare their friends in every Province.

7. To draw in to their part, and make sure unto them of the chief Peers, and Men of best quality, such as are mightiest and most gracious with the Souldiers, and the Military Men, and most suble and politick, especially such as be ambitious and discontent with the State.

8. To have meetings for conference under pretence of some ordinary matter, in some convenient place, not too near, nor too far off, but where friends may best resort and assemble unto them without suspicion.

9. To take up a shew, and pretence of Religion

re than before, and beyond the practise of their former life.

10. They use popular courtesie, (which in a great person is very effectual) feasting, liberality, giving, &c.

11. To be over liberal, and win to them by gifts, familiarity, &c. the chief Officers of the Court, and Governors of State.

12. To have some near about the Prince to keep him in credit, and common suspicion, if any arise.

13. To disgrace such as they know to be true and faithful to the Prince, and present State, or to the Competitor; and to bring them into contempt by slander, detraction, and all means they can, and to conceal the designs from them, lest they be discovered before they be too ripe.

14. To have some Spy near about the Prince, to advertise them if any inkling suspicion arise, whilst themselves are practising.

Note the practises of Absolon, 2 Sam. 16.

And of Cyrus minor in Xenophon, Περικλ. ἀνακαταστάς, Cap. 1.

### Political Prince.

David being a Most worthy and excellent Prince for wisdom, valour, religion, and justice, and so highly deserving of the Commonwealth, yet grown into age, grew withal into contempt, and had many both of his Nobles, and common People, that fell from him; Next with Absolon,

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them with Adonijah, who affected the Kingdom, and rebelled against him: For remedy whereof, he stirred up himself to publick actions, which might shew his vigour and sufficiency to manage the affairs of his Kingdom.

1. **A**fter the victory against Absalom, he forced himself to forbear mourning, and shewed himself to his discontented Army, when all were like to fall from him, for his unreasonable sorrow and lamentation for his Son.

2. After the victory, he caused a general convention to be assembled of the whole Nation, to bring him home with honour to Jerusalem, which was a renewing, and re-establishing of him, 2 Sam. 19. 12.

3. He gave an experiment of his power and authority, by deposing a Person of great authority and estimation, to wit Joab, Captain General of the Army, and advancing Amasa in his place.

4. He sent kind messages to Jerusalem, and to her chief and head towns, and special Men of Judea, his contributors, putting them in mind of their alliance with him, with these words, That they were of his own Flesh and Blood, with protestation of his special love and affection towards them; to provide them with the like kindness and affection towards him.

5. He assembled a Parliament of his whole Realm, and took occasion upon the designing of his Successor, to commend unto them the succession of his House, and the continuance and maintenance of Gods true Worship and Religion then established, and



and gave a grave and publick charge to his Successor now designed, touching the manner of his government, and maintaining of Religion, 1 Chron. 12. 13.

6. He shewed his bounty and magnificence in the greatest matter for building of the Temple, as Gold, Silver, Brass, &c. And caused it to be published and made known to the Parliament and whole Nation, 1 Chron. 22. 13.

7. He revived the Church Government, and set it in a right order, assigning to every Church-officer his place and function.

8. He suppresseth the faction of Adonijah, and ordained Solomon his Successor, 1 Kings 1.

9. By these means he retained his Majesty and Authority in his old age, as appeareth by the effect; for that being bed-ridden, he suppressed the faction of Adonijah, (which was grown mighty, and was set on foot) with his bare commandment, and signification of his pleasure, and so he died in peace.

**F I N I S.**

Sir Walter Raleigh's

Instructions to his

SON,

And to POSTERITY.

CHAP. I.

*Virtuous Persons to be made choice of for friends.*

**T**Here is nothing more becoming any wise Man, than to make choice of friends, for by them thou shalt be judged what thou art: Let them therefore be wise and virtuous, and none of those that follow thee for gain; but make election rather of thy betters, than thy Inferiors, shunning always such as are poor and needy: For if thou givest twenty gifts, and refuse to do the like  
but

*Sir Walter Raleigh to his Son. 61*

But once, all that thou hast done will be lost, and such Men will become thy mortal enemies. Take also special care, that thou never trust any friend or servant, with any matter that may endanger thine estate; for so shalt thou make thy self a bond slave to him, that thou trustest, and leave thy self always to his mercy: And be sure of this, thou shalt never find a friend in thy young years, whose conditions and qualities will please thee after thou comest to more discretion and judgment, and then all thou givest is lost, and all wherein thou shalt trust such a one, will be discovered. Such therefore as are thy inferiors, will follow thee but to eat thee out, and when thou leavest to feed them, they will hate thee; and such kind of Men, if thou preserve thy estate, will always be had: And if thy friends be of better quality than thy self, thou mayst be sure of two things: the first, That they will be more careful to keep thy counsel, because they have more to lose than thou hast: the second, They will esteem thee for thy self, and not for that which thou dost possess; but if thou be subject to any great vanity, or ill, (from which I hope God will bless thee) then therein trust no Man; for every Mans folly ought to be his greatest secret. And although I perswade thee to associate thy self with thy betters, or at least with thy Peers, yet remember always that thou venture not thy Estate with any of those great ones, that shall attempt unlawful things, for such Men labour for themselves, and

and not for thee; thou shalt be sure to part with them in the danger, but not in the honour; and to venture a sure Estate in present, in hope of a better in future, is meer madness: And great Men forget such as have done them service, when they have obtained what they would, and will rather hate thee for saying thou hast been a means of their advancement, than acknowledge it.

I could give thee a thousand examples, and I my self know it, and have tasted it in all the course of my life; when thou shalt read and observe the Stories of all Nations, thou shalt find innumerable examples of the like: Let thy love therefore be to the best, so long as they do well; but take heed that thou love God, thy Country, thy Prince, and thine own Estate, before all others: for the fancies of Men change, and he that loves to day, hateth to morrow; but let reason be thy School-mistress, which shall ever guide thee aright.

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## CHAP. II.

*Great care to be had in the chusing of a Wife.*

**T**He next and greatest care ought to be in the choice of a Wife, and the only danger therein, is beauty, by which all Men in all ages, wise and foolish, have been betrayed. And though I know it vain to use

rea-

asons or arguments, to dissuade thee from  
being captivated therewith, there being few  
or none, that ever resisted that Witchery;  
yet I cannot omit to warn thee, as of other  
things, which may be thy ruin and destru-  
ction. For the present time, it is true, that  
every Man prefers his fantasie in that appe-  
te, before all other worldly desires, leaving  
the care of honour, credit, and safety in  
respect thereof: But remember, that though  
these affections do not last, yet the bond of  
Marriage dureth to the end of thy life; and  
therefore better to be born withal in a Mi-  
stress, than in a Wife, for when thy humour  
shall change, thou art yet free to chuse again,  
(if thou give thy self that vain liberty.)  
Remember, secondly, That if thou marry  
for Beauty, thou bindest thy self all thy life  
for that, which perchance will never last nor  
please thee one year; and when thou hast it,  
it will be to thee of no price at all, for the de-  
gree dieth when it is attained, and the affe-  
ction perisheth, when it is satisfied. Remem-  
ber, when thou wert a sucking Child, that  
then thou didst love thy Nurse, and that thou  
wert fond of her, after a while thou didst  
love thy Dry-nurse, and didst forget the  
other, after that thou didst also despise her;  
so will it be with thee in thy liking in elder  
years; and therefore, though thou canst not  
forbear to love, yet forbear to link, and  
after a while thou shalt find an alteration in  
thy self, and see another far more pleasing  
than the first, second, or third love; yet I  
will



wish thee above all the rest, have a care thou dost not Marry an uncomely Woman for any Respect; for comeliness in Children Riches, if nothing else be left them. And if thou have care for thy Races of Horses, and other Beasts, value the shape and comeliness of thy Children, before Alliances or Riches; have care therefore of both together, for if thou have a fair Wife, and a poor one, if thine own Estate be not great, assure thyself that Love abideth not with Want; for she is thy companion of Plenty and Honour; for I never yet knew a poor Woman exceeding fair, that was not made dishonest by one or other in the end. This *Bathsheba* taught her Son *Solomon*; *Favour is deceitful, and Beauty is Vanity*: she saith further, *That a wise Woman overseeth the ways of her Household, and eateth not the bread of Idleness*.

Have therefore ever more care, that thou be beloved of thy Wife, rather than thyself besotted on her; and thou shalt judge of her love by these two observations: First, If thou perceive she have a care of thy Estate, and exercise her self therein; the other, If she study to please thee and be sweet unto thee in Conversation, without thy instruction; for Love needs no teaching, nor precept. On the other side, be not so wroth or stern to thy Wife, for cruelty engendreth no other thing than hatred: Let her have equal part of thy Estate whilst thou livest, if thou find her sparing and honest, but what thou givest after thy death, remember that thou givest.

vest it to a stranger, and most times to an  
 enemy, for he that shall marry thy Wife,  
 will despise thee, thy memory, and thine,  
 and shall possess the quiet of thy Labors, the  
 fruit which thou hast planted, enjoy thy  
 life, and spend with joy and ease what thou  
 hast spared, and gotten with care and travel :  
 yet always remember, that thou leave not  
 thy Wife to be a shame unto thee after thou  
 art dead, but that she may live according to  
 thy Estate ; especially , if thou hast few  
 Children, and them provided for. But  
 howsoever it be, or whatsoever thou find,  
 leave thy Wife no more than of necessity  
 thou must, but only during her Widowhood ;  
 for if she love again, let her not enjoy her  
 second Love in the same bed wherein she  
 loved thee, nor fly to future pleasures with  
 those feathers which Death hath pulled from  
 thy wings ; but leave thy estate to thy House  
 and Children, in which thou livest upon  
 Earth whilst it lasteth. To conclude, Wives  
 were ordained to continue the generation of  
 Men, not to transfer them, and diminish  
 them, either in continuance or ability ; and  
 therefore thy House and Estate, which liveth  
 in thy Son, and not in thy Wife, is to be  
 preferred. Let thy time of Marriage be in  
 thy young and strong years ; for believe it,  
 ever the young Wife betrayeth the old Hus-  
 band, and she that had thee not in thy flower,  
 will despise thee in thy fall, and thou shalt  
 be unto her but a captivity and sorrow.  
 Thy best time will be towards thirtie, for as  
 the

the younger times are unfit, either to chuse, or to govern a Wife, and family ; so if thou stay long, thou shalt hardly see the education of thy Children, which being left to strangers, are in effect lost, and better were it to be unborn, than ill-bred ; for thereby thy posterity shall either perish, or remain a shame to thy name and family. Furthermore, if it be late ere thou take a Wife, thou shalt spend thy prime and summer of thy life with Harlots, destroy thy health, impoverish thy Estate, and endanger thy life ; and be sure of this, that how many Mistresses soever thou hast, so many Enemies thou shalt purchase to thy self ; for there never was any such affection, which ended not in hatred or disdain, remember the saying of Solomon, *There is a way which seemeth right to a Man, but the issues thereof are the wages of death* ; for howsoever a lewd Woman please thee for a time, thou wilt hate her in the end, and she will study to destroy thee. If thou canst not abstain from them in thy vain and unbridled times ; yet remember that thou sowest on the sands, and dost mingle the vital Blood with corruption, and purchasest diseases, repentance, and hatred only. Bestow therefore thy youth so, that thou maist have comfort to remember it, when it hath forsaken thee, and not sigh and grieve at the account thereof : whilst thou art young, thou wilt think it will never have an end ; but behold, the longest day, hath his Evening, and that thou shalt enjoy it but once, that it never turns  
again,

gain, use it therefore as the Spring-time, which soon departeth, and wherein thou oughtest to plant, and sow all provisions for a long and happy life.

CHAP. III.

*Wiseſt Men have been abuſed by Flatterers.*

**T**AKE care thou be not made a fool by flatterers, for even the wiſeſt Men are abuſed by theſe. Know therefore, that flatterers are the worſt kind of Traitors; for they will ſtrengthen thy imperfections, encourage thee in all evils, correct thee in nothing, but ſo ſhadow, and paint all thy vices, and follies, as thou ſhalt never, by their Will diſcern evil from good, or vice from virtue. And becauſe all Men are apt to flatter themſelves; to entertain the additions of other Mens praiſes, is moſt perilous. Do not therefore praiſe thy ſelf, except thou wilt be counted a vain glorious fool, neither take delight in the praiſes of other Men, except thou deſerve it, and receive it from ſuch as are worthy and honeſt, and will withal warn thee of thy faults; for flatterers have never any virtue, they are ever baſe, creeping, cowardly perſons. A flatterer is ſaid to be a beaſt that biteth ſmiling, it is ſaid by *Iſaiah* in this manner: *My People, they that praiſe thee, ſeducer thee, and diſorder the paths of thy feet:* and *David* deſired

desired God to cut out the tongue of a flatterer. But it is hard to know them from friends, they are so obsequious, and full of protestations; for as a *Wolf* resembles a *Dog*, so doth a flatterer a friend. A flatterer is compared to an *Ape*, who because she cannot defend the house like a *Dog*, labour as an *Ox*, or bear burdens as a *Horse*, doth therefore yet play tricks, and provoke laughter. Thou maist be sure that he that will in private tell thee thy faults, is thy friend, for he adventures thy mislike, and doth hazard thy hatred; for there are few Men that can endure it, every Man for the most part delighting in self-praise, which is one of the most universal follies which bewitcheth Mankind.

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#### G H A P. IV.

##### *Private Quarrels to be avoided*

**B**E careful to avoid publick Disputations at Feast, or at Tables among cholerick or quarrelsome persons; and eschew evermore to be acquainted, or familiar with *Ruffians*, for thou shalt be in as much danger in contending with a brawler in a private quarrel, as in a battel, wherein thou maist get honour to thy self, and safety to thy Prince and Country; but if thou be once engaged, carry thy self bravely, that they may



may fear thee after. To shun therefore private fight, be well advised in thy words and behavior, for honour and shame is in the talk, and the tongue of a Man causeth him to fall.

Jest not openly at those that are simple, but remember how much thou art bound to God, who hath made thee wiser. Defame not any Woman publicly, though thou know her to be evil; for those that are faulty, cannot endure to be taxed, but will seek to be avenged of thee, and those that are not guilty, cannot endure unjust reproach. And as there is nothing more shameful and dishonest, than to do wrong, so Truth it self cutteth his throat that carrieth her publicly in every place. Remember the Divine saying, *He that keepeth his Mouth, keepeth his life.* Do therefore right to all Men where it may profit them, and thou shalt thereby get much love, and forbear to speak evil things of Men, though it be true (if thou be not constrained) and thereby thou shalt avoid malice and revenge.

Do not accuse any man of any crime if it be not to save thy self, thy Prince, or Country; for there is nothing more dishonourable (next to Treason it self) than to be an Accuser. Notwithstanding I would not have thee for any respect, lose thy Reputation, or endure publick disgrace; for better it were not to live, than to live a Coward, if the offence proceed not from thy self; if it do, it shall be better to compound it upon good terms, than to hazard thy self; for if  
thou

thou overcome, thou art under the cruelty of the Law, if thou art overcome, thou art dead or dishonoured. If thou therefore contend, or discourse in argument; let it be with wise and sober Men, of whom thou must learn by reasoning, and not with ignorant persons, for thou shalt thereby instruct those that will not thank thee, and utter what they have learned from thee, for their own, but if thou know more than other Men, utter it when it may do thee honour, and not in assemblies of ignorant and common persons.

Speaking much also, is a sign of vanity; for he that is lavish in words, is a niggard in deeds; and as Solomon saith, *The mouth of a wise Man is in his heart, the heart of a fool is in his mouth, because what he knoweth or thinketh, he uttereth.* And by thy words and discourses, Men will judge thee. For as Socrates saith, *Such as thy words are, such will thy affections be esteemed; and such will thy deeds as thy affections, and such thy life as thy deeds.* Therefore be advised what thou dost discourse of, what thou maintainest; whether touching Religion, State, or Vanity; for if thou err in the first, thou shalt be accounted profane; if in the second, dangerous; if in the third, indiscreet and foolish: He that cannot refrain from much speaking, is like a City without Walls, and less pains in the world a Man cannot take, than to hold his tongue; therefore if thou observe this Rule in all Assemblies, thou shalt seldom err, restrain thy

thy choler, hearken much, and speak little ; for the tongue is the instrument of the greatest good, and greatest evil that is done in the World.

According to Solomon, *Life and Death are in the power of the tongue* : and as Euripides truly affirmeth, *Every unbridled tongue in the end shall find it self unfortunate* ; for in all that ever I observed in the course of worldly things, I ever found that Mens fortunes are oftner made by their tongues than by their virtues, and more Mens fortunes overthrown thereby also, than by their vices. And to conclude, all quarrels, mischief, hatred, and destruction, arise from unadvised Speech, and in much speech, there are many errors, out of which, thy enemies shall ever take the most dangerous advantage. And as thou shalt be happy, if thou thy self observe these things, so shalt it be most profitable for thee to avoid their companies that err in that kind, and not to hearken to Talebearers, to inquisitive persons, and such as busie themselves with other mens Estates, that creep into houses as Spies, to learn news which concerns them not ; for assure thy self such persons are most base and unworthy, and I never knew any of them prosper, or respected amongst worthy or wise Men.

Take heed also that thou be not found a liar ; for a lying spirit is hateful both to God and Man. A Liar is commonly a Coward ; for he dares not avow truth. A Liar is trusted of no Man, he can have no credit,

credit, neither in publick nor private; and if there were no more arguments than this, we know that our Lord in *St. John* saith, *That is a Vice proper to Satan*, Lying being opposite to the nature of God, which consisteth in Truth; and the gain of Lying is nothing else, but not to be trusted of any, nor to be believed when we say the Truth. It is said in the *Proverbs*, *That God hateth false Lips*; and *he that speaketh lies shall perish*. Thou maist see and find in all the Books of God, how odious and contrary to God a Lyar is; and for the World, believe it, that it never did any Man good (except in the extremity of saving life;) for a Lyar is of a base, unworthy, and cowardly spirit.

## CHAP. V.

*Three Rules to be observed for the preservation of a Mans Estate.*

**A**Mongst all other things of the World, take care of thy Estate, which thou shalt ever preserve, if thou observe three things; First, that thou know what thou hast, what every thing is worth that thou hast, and to see that thou art not wasted by thy Servants and Officers. The second is that thou never spend any thing before thou have it; for borrowing is the canker and death of every Mans Estate. The third is, that thou suffer not thy self to be wounded for other Mens faults, and scourged for other Mens offences; which is, the surety for another,

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mother, for thereby millions of Men have  
 been beggered and destroyed, paying the  
 reckoning of other Mens riot, and the charge  
 of other Mens folly and prodigality; if  
 thou smart, smart for thine own sins, and  
 above all things, be not made an Ass to carry  
 the burdens of other Men: If any friend de-  
 ceive thee to be his Surety, give him a part of  
 that thou hast to spare, if he press thee far-  
 ther, he is not thy friend at all, for friend-  
 ship rather chuseth harm to it self, than offe-  
 nd it: If thou be bound for a Stranger, thou  
 art a fool; if for a Merchant, thou puttest  
 thy Estate to learn to swim: if for a Church-  
 man, he hath no inheritance: if for a Law-  
 yer, he will find an evasion by a Syllable or  
 Word, to abuse thee: if for a poor Man,  
 thou must pay it thy self: if for a rich Man,  
 he need not: therefore from Surety-ship, as  
 from a Man-slayer, or Enchanter, blest thy  
 self; for the best profit and return will be  
 this, that if thou force him for whom thou  
 art bound, to pay it himself, he will become  
 thy enemy; if thou use to pay it thy self,  
 thou wilt be a beggar; and believe thy Fa-  
 ther in this, and print it in thy thought,  
 that what virtue soever thou hast, be it never  
 so manifold, if thou be poor withal, thou  
 and thy qualities shall be despised: Besides,  
 poverty is oft times sent as a curse of God,  
 is a shame amongst Men, an imprisonment  
 of the mind, a vexation of every worthy  
 spirit; thou shalt neither help thy self nor  
 others, thou shalt drown thee in all thy Vir-  
 E  
 tues,



ruess, having no means to shew them, thou shalt be a burthen, and an eye-sore to thy friends, every Man will fear thy company, thou shalt be driven basely to beg, and depend on others, to flatter unworthy Men to make dishonest shifts: and to conclude Poverty provokes a Man to do infamous and detested deeds: Let no vanity therefore, or perswasion, draw thee to that worst of worldly miseries.

If thou be rich, it will give thee pleasure in health, comfort in sickness, keep thy mind and body free, save thee from many perils, relieve thee in thy elder years, relieve the poor, and thy honest friends, and give means to thy posterity to live, and defend themselves, and thine own Fame. Where it is said in the Proverbs; *That he shall be sore vexed that is Surety for a stranger, and he that loveth Suretyship, is sure*; It is further said, *The poor is hated even of his own neighbour, but the rich have many friends.* Lend not to him that is mightier than thy self, for if thou lendest him, count it but lost; be not surety above thy power, for if thou be surety, think to pay it.

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## CHAP. VI.

*What sort of Servants are fittest to be entertained.*

**L**Et thy servants be such as thou mayest command, and entertain none about thee.

hee but Yeomen, to whom thou givest  
pages; for those that will serve thee with-  
out thy hire, will cost thee treble as much,  
as they that know thy fate: if thou trust  
thy Servant with thy purse, be sure thou  
take his account e'en thou sleepest; for if thou  
put it off, thou wilt then afterwards, for  
carelessness, neglect it. I myself, have there-  
by lost more than I am worth. And what-  
ever thy Servant gaineth thereby, he will  
never thank thee, but laugh thy simplicity  
to scorn; and besides, 'tis the way to make  
thy Servants thieves, which else would be  
honest.

## CHAP. VII.

*Brave Rags wear soonest out of fashion.*

**E**Xceed not in the humour of Rags and  
Bravery, for these will soon wear out  
of fashion; but Money in thy Purse, will  
ever be in fashion; and no Man is esteemed  
for gay Garments, but by Fools and Wo-  
men.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Riches not to be sought by evil means.*

**O**N the other side, take heed that thou  
seek not Riches basely, nor attain  
them

them by evil means; destroy no Man for his Wealth, nor take any thing from the Poor; for the cry and complaint thereof will pierce the Heavens. And it is most detestable before God, and most dishonourable before worthy Men, to wrest any thing from the needy and labouring Soul. God will never prosper thee in ought, if thou offend therein: But use thy poor Neighbours and Tenants well, pine not them and their Children to add superfluity and needless expences to thy self. He that hath pitty on another Man's sorrow, shall be free from himself; and he that delighteth in, and scorneth the misery of another, shall one time or other fall into it himself. Remember this Precept, *He that hath mercy on the poor lendeth unto the Lord, and the Lord will recompense him what he hath given.* I do not understand those for poor, which are vagabonds and beggars, but those that labour to live, such as are old and cannot travel, such poor Widows and fatherless Children, as are ordered to be relieved, and the poor Tenants that travel to pay their Rents, and are driven to poverty by mischance, and not by riotous careless expences; on such have thou compassion, and God will bless thee for it. Make not the hungry Soul sorrowful, defer not the gift to the needy, for if he curse thee, in the bitterness of his Soul, his Prayer shall be heard of him that made him.

CHAP. IX.

*What Inconveniencies happen to such  
as delight in Wine.*

**T**Ake especial care that thou delight not  
in Wine, for there never was any  
Man that came to Honour or Preferment  
that loved it; for it transformeth a Man  
to a Beast, decayeth health, poisoneth the  
breath, destroyeth natural heat, brings a Man's  
stomach to an artificial heat, deformeth the  
face, rotteth the Teeth, and to conclude,  
maketh a Man contemptible, soon old, and  
despised of all wise and worthy Men; hated  
of thy servants, in thy self and companions;  
for it is a bewitching and infectious vice:  
and remember my words, that it were bet-  
ter for a Man to be subject to any Vice,  
than to it; for all other vanities and sins  
are recovered, but a Drunkard will never  
shake off the delight of beastliness; for the  
longer it possesseth a Man, the more he will  
delight in it, and the older he groweth;  
the more he shall be subject to it; for it  
killeth the Spirits, and destroyeth the Body,  
as Ivy doth the old Tree; or as the Worm  
that ingendreth in the kernel of the Nut.

Take heed therefore that such a cureless  
Canker pass not thy youth, nor such a beast-  
ly infection thy old age; for then shall all  
thy life be but as the life of a Beast, and  
after thy death, thou shalt only leave a shame-  
ful

ful infamy to thy posterity, who shall study to forget that such a one was their Father. *Anacharsis* saith, *The first draught serveth for health, the second for pleasure, the third for shame, the fourth for madness*; but in youth there is not so much as one draught permitted; for it putteth fire to fire; and wasteth the natural heat and seed of Generation. And therefore except thou desire to hasten thine end, take this for a general rule, that thou never add any artificial heat to thy Body, by Wine or Spice, until thou find that time hath decayed thy natural heat, and the sooner thou beginnest to help nature, the sooner she will forsake thee, and trust altogether to Art: *Who have misfortune, saith Salomon, who have sorrow and grief, who have trouble without fighting, stripes without cause, and faintness of eyes? even they that sit at Wine, and strain themselves to empty Cups.* *Pliny* saith, *Wine maketh the hand quivering, the eyes watry, the night unquiet, loud dreams, a stinking breath in the morning, and an utter forgetfulness of all things.*

Whosoever loveth Wine, shall not be trusted of any Man, for he cannot keep a secret. Wine maketh Man not only a Beast, but a Mad-man; and if thou love it, thy own Wife, thy Children and thy Friends will despise thee. In drink, Men care not what they say, what offence they give, they forget comeliness, commit disorders; and to conclude, offend all virtuous and honest company, and God most of all, to whom we

daily



aily pray for health, and a life free from  
 in: and yet by drunkenness, and glutto-  
 y, (which is the drunkenness of feeding)  
 e draw on, saith Hesiod, a swift, hasty, un-  
 mely, cruel, and an infamous old age. And  
 . Augustine describeth Drunkenness in this  
 manner : *Ebrietas est blandus Damon, dulce ve-*  
*enum, suave peccatum ; quod, qui habet, seip-*  
*em non habet ; quod qui facit, peccatum non fa-*  
*cit, sed ipse est peccatum.*

Drunkenness is a flattering Devil, a sweet  
 poison, a pleasant sin, which whosoever hath,  
 hath not himself, which whosoever doth  
 commit, doth not commit sin, but he him-  
 self is wholly sin.

Innocentius saith, *Quid turpius ebrioso, cui*  
*motor in ore, tremor in corpore, qui promit stulta,*  
*prodit occulta, cui mens alienatur, facies trans-*  
*formatur ? nullum secretum ubi regnat ebrietas,*  
*et quid non aliud designat malum ? Eecundi ca-*  
*utes quem non fecere disertum ?*

What is filthier than a drunken Man, to  
 whom there is stink in the mouth, trembling  
 in the Body ; which uttereth foolish things,  
 and revealeth secret things ; whose mind is  
 alienate, and face transformed ? There is  
 no Secresie where Drunkenness rules ; nay,  
 what other mischief doth it not design ?  
 Whom have not plentiful Cups made elo-  
 quent and talking ?

When *Diogenes* saw a house to be sold,  
 whereof the Owner was given to drink, I  
 thought at the last, quoth *Diogenes*, he would

spue out a whole house; Sciebam, inquit, quod domum tandem evomeret.

## CHAP. X.

*Let God be thy Protector, and Director  
in all thy Actions.*

**N**OW for the World, I know it too well, to perswade thee to dive into the practices thereof, rather stand upon thine own guard against all that tempt thee thereunto, or may practise upon thee in thy Conscience, thy Reputation, or thy Purse; resolve that no Man is wise or safe, but he that is honest.

Serve God, let him be the Author of all thy Actions, commend all thy endeavors to him that must either wither or prosper them; please him with Prayer, lest if he frown, he confound all thy Fortunes and Labors, like the drops of Rain on the sandy ground: let my experienced advice, and fatherly instructions, sink deep into thy heart. So God direct thee in all his ways, and fill thy heart with his Grace.

**F I N I S.**

The Dutiful

# ADVICE

OF A

Loving SON

TO HIS

Aged FATHER.

S I R,

**I** Humbly beseech you, both in respect of the Honour of God, your Duty to his Church, and the comfort of your own Soul, that you seriously consider in what terms you stand, and weigh your self in a Christian Ballance; taking for your counterpoise, the Judgments of God: Take heed in time, that the Word **TEKEL** written of old against *Belshazzar*, and interpreted by *Daniel*, be not verified in you, whose exposition was, *you have been poized in the Scale, and found of too light weight.*

E 5

Remem<sup>r</sup>

Remember that you are now in the waning, and the Date of your Pilgrimage well nigh expired, and now that it behoveth you to look towards your Country, your force languisheth, your senses impair, your body droops, and on every side, the ruinous Courage of your faint and feeble flesh threatneth the fall: And having so many Harbingers of Death to premonish you of your end, how can you but prepare for so dreadful a Stranger? The young Man may dye quickly, but the Old Man cannot live long: The young Mans life by casualty may be abridged, but the old Mans by no Phylick can be long adjourned: And therefore if green years should sometimes think of the Grave, the thoughts of old Age should continually dwell in the same.

The prerogative of Infancy is Innocency; of Child-hood, Reverence; of Man hood, Maturity; and of old Age, Wisdom.

And seeing then, that the chiefest properties of Wisdom, are to be mindful of things past, careful for things present, and provident for things to come: Use now the priviledge of Natures talent, to the benefit of your own soul, and procure hereafter to be wise in well doing, and watchful in the fore-sight of future harms. To serve the world you are now unable; and though you were able; yet you have little cause to be willing, seeing that it never gave you but an unhappy welcome, a hurtful entertainment,

ment, and now doth abandon you with an unfortunate farewell.

You have long sowed in a field of flint, which could bring nothing forth but a crop of cares, and afflictions of spirit, rewarding your labours with remorse, and affording for your gain, eternal danger.

It is now more than a seasonable time to alter the course of so unthriving a Husbandry, and to enter into the field of God's Church, in which, sowing the seed of repentant sorrow, and watering them with the tears of humble contrition, you may hereafter reap a more beneficial Harvest, and gather the fruits of everlasting comfort.

Remember, I pray you, that your Spring is spent, your Summer over-past, you are now arrived at the fall of the leaf; yea, and Winter colours have long since stained your hoary head.

*Be not careless (saith Saint Augustine) though our loving Lord bear long with Offenders; for the longer he stays, not finding amendment, the sorer he will scourge, when he comes to Judgment: And his patience in so long forbearing, is only to lend us respite to repent, and not in any wise to enlarge us leisure to Sin.*

He that is tossed with variety of storms, and cannot come to his desired Port, maketh not much way, but is much turmoiled. So, he that hath passed many years, and purchased little profit, hath a long being, but a short life: For, life is more to be measured by well-doing, than by number of years; See-  
ing



ng that most Men by many days do but procure many deaths, and others in short space attain to the life of infinite ages. What is the body without the soul, but a corrupt carcase? And what is the soul without God, but a Sepulchre of Sin?

If God be the Way, the Life, and the Truth, he that goeth without him, strayeth; and he that liveth without him, dyeth; and he that is not taught by him, erreth.

*Well (saith St. Augustine) God is our true and chiefest Life, from whom to revolt, is to fall; to whom to return, is to rise; and in whom to stay, it to stand sure.*

God is he, from whom to depart, is to dye; to whom to repair, is to revive; and in whom to dwell is life for ever. Be not then of the number of those that being not to live, till they be ready to dye: and then after foes desert, come to crave of God a friends entertainment.

Some there be that think to snatch Heaven in a moment, which the best can scarce attain unto in the maintenance of many years, and when they have glatted themselves with worldly delights, would jump from Devils Dyet to Lazarus Crown, from the Service of Satan, to the Solace of a Saint.

But be you well assured that God is not so penurious of Friends, as to hold himself and his Kingdom saleable for the refuse and reversions of their lives, who have sacrificed the principal thereof to his Enemies, and their own brutish lust; then only ceasing

to offend, when the ability of offending is taken from them.

True it is that a Thief may be saved upon the Cross, and mercy found at the last gasp: But well (saith St. Augustine) though it be possible, yet is it scarce credible, that he in Death should find favour, whose whole life deserved Death; and that the Repentance should be more accepted, that more for fear of Hell and love of himself, than for the love of God, and loathsomeness of sin, cryeth for mercy.

Wherefore, good S. I. R, make no longer delays; but being so near the breaking up of your mortal house, take time before extremity, to pacifie God's anger.

Though you suffered the bud to be blasted, though you permitted the fruits to be perished, and the leaves to dry up; yea, though you let the Boughs to wither, and the Body of your Tree to grow to decay, yet (alas) keep life in the root, for fear least the whole Tree become fewel for Hell fire. For surely where the tree falleth, there it shall lie, whether towards the South, or to the North, to Heaven or to Hell; and such sap as it bringeth forth, such fruit shall it ever bear.

Death hath already filed from you the better part of your natural forces, and left you now to be Lees, and Remissals of your wearyish and dying days.

The remainder whereof, as it cannot be long, so doth it warn you speedily to ransom your former losses; for what is age but the Calends,

Calends of Death? and what importeth your present weakness, but an earnest of your approaching dissolution? You are now embarked in your final Voyage, and not far from the stint and period of your course.

Be not therefore unprovided of such appurtenances as are behooveful in so perplexed and perilous a Journey; death it self is very fearful, but much more terrible in respect of the judgment it summoneth us unto.

If you were now laid upon your departing bed, burthened with the heavy load of your former trespasses, and gored with the stinging and prick of a festered Conscience; if you felt the cramp of death wresting your heart-strings, and ready to make the rueful divorce between body and soul: If you lay panting for breath, and swimming in a cold and pale sweat, wearied with struggling against your deadly Pangs, O what would you give for an hours repentance; at what a rate would you value a days contrition? Then worlds would be worthless in respect of a little respite; a short truce would seem more precious than the treasures of an Empire; nothing would be so much esteemed as a short time of truce, which now by days, and months, and yeats, is most lavishly mispent.

Oh how deeply would it wound your weak heart, when looking back into your former life, you considered many heinous and horrible offences committed, many pious works and godly deeds omitted, and neither of both  
repented,

repented, your service to God promised, and not performed.

Oh how unconsolable were your case, your friends being fled, your senses affrighted, your thoughts amazed, your memory decayed, and your whole mind agast, and no part able to perform what it should; but only your guilty Conscience pestered with sin, that would continually upbraid you with many bitter accusations.

Oh, what would you think then, being stripped out of this mortal Weed, and turned both out of service and house-room of this wicked world, you are forced to enter into uncouth and strange Paths, and with unknown and ugly Company, to be convened before a most severe Judge, carrying in your Conscience your Indictment, written in a perfect Register of all your mis-deeds, when you shall see him prepared to give Sentence upon you, against whom you have so often transgressed, and the same to be your Umpire, whom by so many offences you have made your Enemy, when not only the Devil, but even the Angels would plead against you, and your own self, in despite of your self, be your own most sharp Impeacher.

Oh, what would you do in these dreadful exigents, when you saw the ghastly Dragon, and huge gulph of Hell, breaking out with most fearful flames; when you heard the weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth, the rage of those hellish Monsters, the horror of the

the place, the terror of the company, and the eternity of all those torments?

Would you then think them wise, that should delay in so weighty matters, and idly play away the time allotted, to prevent these intolerable calamities? Would you then count it secure, to nurse in your own bosom so many Serpents as Sins? and to foster in your soul so many malicious accusers, as mortal and horrible offences? Would you not think one life too little to repent in for so many, and so great iniquities, every one whereof were enough to throw you into those unspeakable and intolerable torments?

And why then (alass) do you not at the least devote that small remnant, and surplussage of these your latter days, procuring to make an attonement with God; and to free your Soul and Conscience from that corruption, which by your fall hath crept into it?

Those very eyes that behold, and read this discourse, those very ears that are attentive to hear it, and that very understanding that considereth and conceiveth it, shall be cited as certain Witnesses of these rehearsed things. In your own body shall you experience these deadly Agonies, and in your Soul shall you feelingly find these terrible fears; yea and your present estate is in danger of the deepest harms, if you do not the sooner recover your self into that fold and family of God's faithful servants.

What have you gotten by being so long a customer to the World, but false ware, sui-  
table



able to the shop of such a Merchant, whose traffick is toyl, whose wealth is trash, and whose gain is misery? What interest have you reaped, that might equal your detriment in grace and virtue? Or what could you find in the Vale of tears, that was answerable to the favour of God, with loss whereof you were contented to buy it?

You cannot now be inveigled with the Passions of youth, which making a partiality of things, sets no distance between counterfeit and currant; for these are now worn out of force, by tract of time are fallen into reproof, by tryal of their Folly.

Oh let not the crazie cowardize of flesh and blood, daunt the prowess of an intelligent person, who by his wisdom cannot but discern how much more cause there is, and how much more needful it is to serve God, than this wicked World.

But if it be the ungrounded presumption of the mercy of God, and the hope of his assistance at the last Plunge (which indeed is the ordinary lure of the Devil to reclaim sinners from the pursuit of Repentance.) Alas, that is too palpable a collusion to mislead a sound and serviceable Man, howsoever it may prevail with sick and ill-affected judgments. Who would rely upon eternal affairs, upon the gliding slipperiness, and running streams of our uncertain life? Who, but one of distempered wits would offer fraud to the Decipherer of all thoughts; with

with whom dissemble we may to our cost, but to deceive him is impossible?

Shall we esteem it cunning to rob the time from him, and bestow it on his enemies, who keepeth tale of the least minutes, and will examine in the end how every moment hath been employed? It is a preposterous kind of policy, in any wise conceit to fight against God, till our weapons be blunted, our forces consumed, our limbs impotent, and our best time spent; and then when we fall for faintness, and have fought our selves almost dead, to presume on his mercy.

Oh! no, no, the wounds of his most sacred body, so often rubbed and renewed by our sins, and every part and parcel of our Bodies so divers, and sundry ways abused, will be then as so many whet-stones and incentives, to edge and exasperate his most just revenge against us.

It is a strange piece of Art, and a very exorbitant course, when the Ship is sound, the Pilot well, the Mariners strong, the Gale favourable, and the Sea calm; to lye idly at the Road, during so seasonable Weather: And when the Ship leaketh, the Pilot sick, the Mariners faint, the Storms boisterous, and the Seas a Turmoil of outrageous Surges, then to launch forth, (hoise up Sail) and set out for a long Voyage into a far Country.

Yet such is the skill of these evening Repenters, who though in the soundness of their Health, and perfect use of their reason, they cannot resolve to cut the Cables, and weigh

weigh the Anchor that with-holds them  
from God.

Nevertheless they feed themselves with a  
strong persuasion, that when they are astoni-  
shed, their wits distracted, the understanding  
asked, and the Bodies and Souls racked and  
tormented with the throbs and gripes of a  
mortal sickness ? then forsooth they will be-  
gin to think of their weightiest matters, and  
become sudden Saints, when they are scarce  
able to behave themselves like reasonable  
creatures.

No, no, if neither the Canon, Civil, nor  
the Common Law will allow that Man  
(perished in judgment) should make any  
Testament of his Temporal Substance ; how  
can he that is animated with inward garboils  
of an unsettled conscience, distrained with  
the wringing fits of his dying flesh, maimed  
in all his ability, and circled in on every side  
with many and strange incumbrances, be  
thought of due discretion to dispose of his  
chiefest Jewel ; which is his Soul ? and to  
dispatch the whole manage of all eternity,  
and of the treasures of Heaven, in so short  
a spurt ?

No, no, they that will loyter in seed time,  
and begin to sow when others reap ; they that  
will riot out their health, and begin to cast  
their accounts when they are scarceable to  
speak ; they that will slumber out the day,  
and enter upon their journey when the light  
doth fail them, let them blame their own  
folly, if they dye in debt, and be eterna  
beggars

92 *the Son's Advice, &c.*

beggars, and fall head-long into the lap of  
endless perdition.

Let such listen to St. Cyprian's Lesson;  
Let, saith he, the grievousness of our sore be the  
measure of our sorrow; let a deep wound have a  
deep and diligent cure; Let no mans Contrition  
be less than his Crime.

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**F I N I S.**

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Sir Walter Raleigh's

# SCEPTICK.

*The SCEPTICK doth neither affirm, neither deny any Position; but doubteth of it, and opposeth his Reasons against that which is affirmed, or denied, to justify his not consenting.*

**H**IS first Reason ariseth, from the consideration of the great difference amongst living Creatures, both in the matter and manner of their Generations, and the several Constitutions of their Bodies.

Some living Creatures are by copulation and some without it: and that either by Fire, as Crickets in Fornaces; or corrupt Water, as Gnats; or slime, as Frogs; or dirt, as Worms; or herbs, as Cankerworms, some of ashes, as Beetles; some of trees, as the Worm *Psenas* bred in the wild Fig-tree; some



some of living Creatures putrified, as Bees of Bulls, and Wasps of Horses. By Copulation many Creatures are brought forth alive, as Man; some in the Egg, as Birds; some in an unshapen piece of flesh, as Beasts. These great differences cannot but cause divers and contrary temperaments, and quality in those Creatures; and consequently, a great diversity in their fancy and conceits, so that tho' they apprehend one and the same Object, yet they must do it after a diverse manner: for it is not absurd to affirm, that Creatures differ so much in temperature, and yet agree in conceit concerning one and the same object.

But this will more plainly appear, if the instruments of Sense in the body be observed: for we shall find, that as these Instruments are affected and disposed, so doth the Imagination conceive that which by them is connexed unto it. That very object which seemeth unto us White, unto them which have the Jaundice seemeth Pale, and Red unto those whose Eyes are Blood-shot. Forasmuch then as living Creatures have some white, some pale, some red Eyes, why should not one and the same object seem to some white, to some red, to some pale? If a Man rub his Eye, the figure of that which he beholdeth seemeth long or narrow; is it then not likely, that those Creatures which have a long and slanting Pupil of the Eye, as Goats, Foxes, Cats, &c. do convey the fashion of that which they behold

hold under another Form to the imagination, than those that have round Pupils do?

Who knoweth not, that a Glass presenteth the outward Object smoother, or greater, according to the making of the glass? If it be hollow, the Object seemeth smaller than it is; if the Glass be crooked, then the Object seemeth long and narrow. And Glasses were be, which present the head of him that looketh in them, downwards, and the heels upwards. Now them seeing the Eye, which is the Instrument of Sight, in some living creatures is more outward, in some more inward, in some plain, in some greater, in some less; it is very probable, that Fishes, Men, Lions and Dogs, whose Eyes so much differ, do not conceive the self-same Object after the same manner, but diversly, according to the diversity of the Eye, which offereth it unto the Fancy.

The same reason holdeth in Touching. Touching; for seemeth it not absurd to think, that those Creatures which are covered with Shells, those which are covered with Scales, and which are covered with Hairs, and those which are smooth, should all be alike sensible in Touching? and every one of them convey the Image, or Quality of the same Object which they touch, in the very same degree of heat or cold, of driness or moisture, roughness or smoothness, unto the Imagination?

Hearing So might it be shewed in Hearing: for how can we think that the

the Ear which hath a narrow Passage, and the Ear which hath an open and wide passage, do receive the same sound in the same degree? or that the Ear whose inside is full of hair, doth hear in the same just measure that the Ear doth whose inside is smooth. Since experience sheweth, that if we stop or half stop our Ears, the sound cometh not to us in the same manner and degree that it doth if our Ears be open.

The like may be thought of Smelling: for Man himself abounding with Flegm, is otherwise affected in smelling, than he is, if the parts about the head be full of Blood; and many things afford a delightful smell to some living Creatures, which smell to other living Creatures seemeth not to be so. *Smelling*

In the Taste the same reason appeareth, for to a rough and dry, *Tasting* tongue, that very thing seemeth bitter (as in an Ague) which to the moister tongue seemeth not to be so. Divers Creatures then having tongues drier, or moister, according to their severall temperatures, when they taste the same thing, must needs conceive it to be according as the instrument of their taste is affected, either bitter, or sweet, &c. For even as the hand in the striking of the Harp, tho' the stroke be one, yet causeth a sound sometimes high, sometimes base, according to the quality of the string that is stricken: Even so one and the same outward Object is diversly judged of, and conceived,

ited, according to the several and divers  
qualities of the instrument of sense, which  
conveyeth it to the imagination. Oynment  
pleasing to Man; but Beetles and Bees  
cannot abide it. Oil to Man is profitable,  
but it killeth Bees and Wasps. *Cicuta* fee-  
leth Quails, and Henbane Sows; but both  
of these hurt Man. If a Man eat Ants he is  
sick; but the Bear being sick, recovereth by  
eating them.

If then one and the very same thing to  
the red eye seem red, to another pale, and  
white to another: If one and the same thing,  
seem not hot or cold, dry or moist, in the  
same degree to the several Creatures which  
touch it; If one and the self-same sound seem  
more shrill to that creature which hath a  
narrow ear, and more base to him that hath  
an open ear: If the same thing, at the same  
time, seem to afford a pleasant and displeasing  
smell to divers and several creatures: If that  
seem bitter in taste to one, which to another  
seemeth sweet, that to one hurtful, which to  
another seemeth healthful: I may report how  
these things appear divers to several crea-  
tures, and seem to produce divers effects.

But what they are in their own nature,  
whether red or white, bitter or sweet,  
healthful or hurtful, I cannot tell. For why  
should I presume to prefer my conceit and  
imagination, in affirming that a thing is thus,  
or thus, in its own nature, because it see-  
meth to me to be so, before the conceit of  
other living creatures, who may as well think

it to be otherwise in each own nature, because it appeareth otherwise to them than it doth to me?

They are living creatures as well as I: why then should I condemn their conceit and fantasie, concerning any thing, more than they may mine? They may be in the truth and I in error, as well as I in truth, and they err. If my conceit must be believed before theirs, great reason that it be proved to be truer than theirs. And this proof must be either by demonstration, or without it. Without it none will believe. Certainly, if by demonstration, then this demonstration must seem to be true, or not seem to be true. If it seem to be true, then will it be a question, whether it be so indeed as it seemeth to be; and to alledge that for a certain proof, which is uncertain and questionable, seemeth absurd.

If it be said, that the imagination of Man judgeth truer of the outward object, than the imagination of other living creatures doth, and therefore to be credited above others, (besides that which is already said) this is easily refuted by comparing of Man with other creatures.

It is confessed the Dog excelleth Man in smell, and in hearing: and whereas there is said to be a two-fold discourse, one of the mind, another of the tongue, and that of the mind is said to be exercised in chusing that which is convenient, and refusing that which is hurtful in knowledge, justice, and thankfulness:



fulness : This creature chuseth his food, refuseth the whip, fawneth on his Master, defendeth his house, revengeth himself of those strangers that hurt him. And *Horner* mentioneth *Argus* the Dog of *Ulysses*, who knew his Master, having been from home so many years, that at his return all the People of his House had forgot him. This creature, saith *Chrysippus*, is not void of Logick : for when in following any beast, he cometh to three several ways, he smelleth to the one, and then to the second ; and if he find that the beast which he pursueth be not fled one of these two ways, he presently without smelling any further to it, taketh the third way : which, saith the same Philosopher, is as if he reasoned thus, the Beast must be gone either this, or this, or the other way ; but neither this, nor this ; *Ergo*, the third : and so away he runneth.

If we consider his skill in Physick, it is sufficient to help himself : If he be wounded with a dart, he useth the help of his Teeth to take it out, of his Tongue to cleanse the wound from corruption : he seemeth to be well acquainted with the Precept of *Hipocrates*, who saith, *That the Rest of the Foot is the Physick of the Foot*, and therefore if his Foot be hurt, he holdeth it up that it may rest : if he be sick, he giveth himself a Vomit by eating of Grass, and recovereth himself. The Dog then we see is plentifully furnished with inward discourse.

Now outward speech is not needful to make a creature reasonable, else a dumb Man were an unreasonable creature.

And do not Philosophers themselves reject this as an enemy to knowledge? and therefore they are *silent* when they are instructed; and yet even as barbarous and strange People have speech, but we understand it not, neither do we perceive any great difference in their words: but a difference there seemeth to be, and they do express their thoughts and meanings one to another by those words. Even so those creatures, which are commonly called unreasonable, do seem to parly one with another; and by their speech do understand one the other. Do not Birds by one kind of speech call their young ones, and by another cause them to hide themselves? Do they not by their several voices express their several passions of joy, of grief, of fear, in such manner, that their fellows understand them? Do they not by their voice foreshew things to come? But we will return to that creature we first did instance in. The Dog delivereth one kind of voice when he hudgeth, another when he howleth, another when he is beaten, and another when he is angry. These creatures then are not void of outward speech.

If then these creatures excel Man in sense, and are equal to him in inward and outward discourse, why should not their conceits and imaginations convey the outward object in as true a manner as ours? and if

So then seeing their imaginations are divers, and they conceit it diversly according to their divers temperaments, I may tell what the outward object seemeth to me ; but what it seemeth to other creatures, or whether it be indeed that which it seemeth to me, or any other of them, I know not.

But be it granted, that the Judgment of Man in this case, is to be preferred before the Judgment of Beasts ; yet in Men there is great difference, both in respect of the outward shape, and also of the temperature of their bodies : For the body of the *Scythian* differeth in shape from the body of the *Indian*: the reason of it ariseth (say the Dogmatists,) from a predominancy of humors in the one more than in the other ; and as several humors are predominant, so are the phantasies and conceits severally framed and affected. So that our Country-men delight in one thing, the *Indian* not in that, but in another which we regard not. This would not be if their conceits and ours were both alike, for then we should like that which they do, and they would dislike that which we would dislike. It is evident also that Men differ very much in the temperature of their bodies, else why should some more easily digest Beef than Shell-fish ? and others be mad for the time, if they drink Wine ? There was an old Woman about *Arbeus*, which drunk three drams of *Cicuta* (every dram weighing sixty Barley corns, and eight drams to an ounce) without hurt. *Lyss*, without hurt, took four drams

of Poppy; and *Demophon*, which was Gentleman-Sewer to *Alexander*, was very cold when he stood in the Sun, or in a hot bath, but very hot when he stood in the shade. *Asbenagoras* felt no pain if a Scorpion stung him. And the *Pfilli* (a People in *Lybia*, whose bodies are venom to Serpents) if they be stung by Serpents, or Asps, receive no hurt at all.

The *Æthiopians*, which inhabit the River *Hydaspis*, do eat Serpents and Scorpions without danger. *Lothericus* a Chyrurgion, at the smell of a Sturgeon, would be for the time mad. *Andron* of *Argos* was so little thirsty, that without want of Drink, he travelled through the hot and dry Country of *Lybia*. *Tyberius Cæsar* would see very well in the dark. *Aristotle* mentioneth of *Thratius*, who said, that the image of a Man went always before him.

If then it be so, that there be such differences in Men, this must be by reason of the divers temperatures they have, and divers dispositions of their conceit and imagination; for if one hate, and another love the very same thing, it must be that their fantasies differ, else all would love it, or all would hate it. These Men then, may tell how these things seem to them good, or bad; but what they are in their own Nature they cannot tell.

If we will hearken to Mens opinions, concerning one and the same matter, thinking thereby to come to the knowledge of it, we shall find this to be impossible; for either

we

we must believe what all Men say of it, or what some Men only say of it. To believe what all Men say of one and the same thing is not possible; for then we shall believe Contrarieties; for some Men say, that that very thing is pleasant, which others say is displeasing. If it be said we must believe only some Men, then let it be shewed who those some Men are; for the *Platonists* will believe *Plato*, but the *Epicures* *Epicurus*, the *Pythagoreans* *Pythagoras*, and other Philosophers the Masters of their own Sects: so that it is doubtful, to which of all these we shall give credit. If it be said, that we must credit the greatest number; this seemeth childish: for there may be amongst other Nations a greater number which deny that very point, which the greatest number with us do affirm: so that hereof nothing can certainly be affirmed.

This argument seemeth to be further confirmed, if the differences of the Senses of *Hearing*, *Seeing*, *Smelling*, *Touching* and *Tasting* be considered; for that the Senses differ, it seemeth plain.

Painted Tables (in which the art of Slanting is used) appear to the Eye, as if the parts of them were some higher, and some lower than the other, but to the Touch they seem not so.

Honey seemeth to the Tongue sweet, but unpleasant to the Eye: So Oynment doth recreate the Smell, but it offendeth the Taste. Rain-water is profitable to the Eyes, but it



hurteth the Lungs. We may tell then, how these things seem to our several Senses, but what they are in their own Nature we cannot tell: for why should not a Man credit any one of his Senses as well as the other?

Every object seemeth to be presented diversly unto the several instruments of Sense. An Apple to the Touch seemeth smooth, sweet to the Smell, and to the eye yellow; but whether the Apple have one of these qualities only, or more than these qualities, who can tell? The Organ hath many Pipes, all which are filled with the same blast of wind, varied according to the capacity of the several Pipes which receive it: even so the quality of the Apple may be but one, and this one quality may be varied, and seem yellow to the Eye, to the Touch smooth, and sweet to the Smell, by reason of the divers instruments of the Sense, which apprehend this one quality diversly.

It may be also, that an Apple hath many qualities besides; but we are not able to conceive them all, because we want fit means and instruments to apprehend them. For suppose that some Man is born blind, and deaf; and yet can Touch, Smell, and Taste; this Man will not think that there is any thing which may be seen or heard, because he wanteth the Senses of hearing and seeing; he will only think there are those qualities in the object, which by reason of his three Senses he conceiveth: Even so the Apple may have many more qualities; but we  
can-

cannot come to know them, because we want fit instruments for that purpose.

If it be replied, that Nature hath ordained as many instruments of Sense, as there are sensible objects; I demand, what Nature? for there is a confused controversie about the very Essence of Nature. Some affirming it to be one thing, others another, few agreeing: so that what the quality of an Apple is, or whether it hath one quality or many, I know not.

Let a Man also consider how many things that are separated, and by themselves, appear to differ from that which they seem to be, when they are in a mass or lump; the scrapings of the Goats horn seems white, but in the horn they seem black. The Stone *Termars*, being polished, seemeth white, but unpolished and rough, it seemeth yellow. Sands being separated, appear rough to the Touch, but a great heap, soft. I may then report, how these things appear, but whether they are so indeed, I know not.

Sir *Walter Raleigh's*

# OBSERVATIONS

Concerning the Causes of the *Magnificency*  
and *Opulency* of Cities.

**T**Hat the only way to civilize  
and reform the savage and bar-  
barous lives and corrupt man-  
ners of such People, is,

1. To be dealt withal by gen-  
tle and loving Conversation among them; to  
attain to the knowledge of their Language,  
and of the multitude of their special dis-  
commodities and inconveniencies in their  
manner of living.

2. The next is to get an admired reputa-  
tion amongst them, upon a solid and true  
foundation of Piety, Justice, and Wisdom,  
conjoynd with fortitude and power.

3. The third is, discreetly to possess them  
with a knowledge of the condition of their  
own estate. Thus *Orpheus* and *Amphion* were  
said to draw after them the Beasts of the  
field, &c.

And

And this must be first wrought by a visible representation of the certainty, truth, and sincerity of these, together with the felicity of a reformed estate.

All which is but to give foundation, bottom, and firm footing unto action, and to prepare them to receive wholesome and good advice, for the future profit and felicity of themselves and their Posterity.

For the more commodious effecting of this Reformation in a rude and barbarous People, they are to be perswaded to withdraw and unite themselves into several Colonies; that by it an interchangeable communication and commerce of all things may more commodiously be had, and that they may so live together in civility, for the better succour and welfare of one another: And thereby they may more easily be instructed in the Christian Faith, and governed under the Magistrates and Ministers of the King, or other superior power, under whom this Reformation is sought. Which course the Stoick tells, that *Theseus* took, after he had taken upon him the Government of the *Athenians*, whereby he united all the People into one City, that before lived dispersedly in many Villages. The like is put in practice at this day by the *Portugals* and *Jesuits*, that they may with less difficulty and hinderance reform the rough behavior, and savage life of the People of *Braxile*, who dwell scattered and dispersed in Caves and Cottages made of boughs and leaves of the Palm-trees.

*Alex-*

Alexander the Great built more than seventy Cities: Seleucus built three Cities, called *Apamea*, to the honour of his Wife; and five, called *Laodicea*, in memory of his Mother; and five, called *Seleucia*, to the honour of himself.

*Safety for Defence of the People and their Goods,  
in and near the Town.*

**Situation** **I**N the Situation of Cities there is for safety and plenty, by some natural strength, commodiousness for Navigation, and Conduct, for the attaining of plenty of all good things, for the sustenance and comfort of Man's life, and to draw Trade and Entercourse of other Nations; as if the same be situate in such fort, as many People have need to repair thither for some natural commodity or other of the Country, which by Traffick and Transportation of Commodities, whereof they have more plenty than will supply their own necessity, or for receiving of things whereof they have scarcity. And much better will it be; if the place afford some notable commodity of it self, from whence other Nations may more readily, and at better rate attain the same: likewise, and withal, be so fertile, pleasant and healthful of it self, that it may afford plenty of good things, for the delight and comfort of the Inhabitants.



*Multitude of Inhabitants.* In former times great Nations, Kings and Potentates have endured sharp conflicts, and held it high Policy by all means to increase their Cities with multitudes of Inhabitants. And to this end the ROMANS ever furnished themselves with Strength and Power, to make their neighbour People, of necessity, willing to draw themselves to Rome to dwell, and overthrow their Towns and Villages of mean strength, down to the ground.

So did they for this cause utterly destroy many Cities, bringing always the vanquished Captives to Rome, for the Augmentation of that City.

Romulus, after a mighty fight with the Sabines, condescended to Peace, upon condition that Tatius their King should come with all their People to dwell at Rome: Tatius did accept, and made choice of the Capitol, and the Mount Quirinalis for his Seat and Palace.

The same course held Tamerlane the Great, whereby he enlarged the great Samarcanda, still bringing unto it, the richest and wealthiest Citizens he had subdued.

And the Ottomans, to make the City Constantinople rich and great, brought to it many thousand Families, especially Artificers, out of the subdued Cities, as Mahomet the Great from Trebizond, Selim the First from Cairo, and Solyman from Tauris.

Authority and necessity, without the consideration of the conveniences and commodiousness

dioufness of Situation above-mentioned, are of small moment in the foundation of a City; thereby only it would be unlikely either to grow or continue in Magnificency or Opulency; for if Profit, Height, and Delight go not companions therewith, no Authority or necessity can retain much People or Wealth.

But if the Place whereupon a City is to be founded, be commodious for the aforesaid conveniencies, which help greatly for the felicity of this life then, no doubt, the same is likely to draw much abundance of People and riches unto the same, whereby it may, by the help of Arts and Industry, in time become magnificent and glorious.

Unto the good estate, greatness, and glory of a City, those things hereafter mentioned do greatly avail, and are of much importance, viz.

Religion; which is of such force

*Religion.* and might, to amplifie Cities and

Dominions, and of such attractive virtue to replenish the same with People and wealth, and to hold them in due obedience, as none can be more; for without adoration of some Deity, no Common wealth can subsist.

Witness *Jerusalem, Rome, Constantinople*, and all other Cities that have been famous for the profession of Religion, or Divine Worship. And no marvel, for there is not any thing in this World of more efficacy and force to allure and draw to it the hearts of

Men,

Men, than God which is the *summum bonum*. He is carefully desired, and continually sought for of all creatures; for all regard Him as their last end and refuge.

Light things apply themselves upwards, heavy things downwards; the Heavens to revolution, the Herbs to flowers, Trees to bear fruit, Beasts to preserve their kind, and Man in seeking his tranquility and everlasting glory. But forasmuch as God is of so high a nature as the sense and understanding of Man cannot conceive it, every Man directly turns himself to that place where he leaves some print of his power, or declares some sign of his assistance. And to such Persons to whom he seemeth more especially to have revealed himself.

Academies, and Schools of Learning with convenient immunities and privileges for Scholars, and means for Recreation for Delight, are of great importance to enlarge and enrich a City: forasmuch as Men long for honour and profit, and of Arts and liberal Sciences, some bring certain Wealth to Men, and some promotions and preferments to honourable functions: for by this means not only young Men, and those that are desirous of Learning and Virtue in the same Common-wealth, will be retained in their own Country; but also strangers will be drawn home to them. And the more will this be available if occasion be given to Scholars and Students, to rise to degrees of Honour and Preferment  
by

by their learned exercises, and that by the Policy of the same City, good Wits be accounted of, and rewarded well: that the same Academies and Schools be stored with plenty of Doctors and learned Men of great fame and reputation.

*Courts of Justice.* Courts of Justice, with due execution of the same in a City, do much enable and enlarge, and enrich it; for it fasteneth a great liking in a City to virtuous Men, and such as be wealthy, that therein they may be free, and in safety from the violence of the oppressions of covetous and wicked Men: and there will be rather resort thither to inhabit, or traffick thereas occasions may Minister unto them. And many others that have cause of suit will repair thither, where they may be sure to find Judgment and Justice duly executed, whereby the City must needs be enlarged and enriched: for our lives, and all that ever we have are in the hands of Justice, so that if Justice be not administred amongst Men, in vain is their any society and commerce, or any other thing can be profitable or safe; so much is love and charity failed; and iniquity encreased upon the face of the Earth.

The excellency and multitude *Artificers.* likewise of Artificers exercising their manual Arts and Trades, do marvellously encrease and enrich a State, whereof some are necessary, some commodious for a civil life, other some are of Pomp  
and

and Ornament, and other some of delicacy and curiosity, whereof doth fellow concourse of People that Labor and Work, and currant Money which doth enrich and supply Materials for Laborers, and Work-men, buying and selling, transportation from place to place, which doth employ and increase the artificious and cunning parts of the wit of Man; and this art and exquisiteness of workmanship and skill is so powerful herein, that it far excells the simple commodities and materials that Nature produceth; and is alone sufficient of it self to make a City or State both magnificent and glorious: And the daily experience we have in these our days, and in former times, doth manifestly approve the same, and make evident without all contradiction.

- Some natural benefits that a City also may have for the excellency of Art, or workmanship of some special commodities above any other place, either through the Quality of the Water, or other matter whatsoever, or some hidden mystery of the Inhabitants in working thereof, may be a great help for the enlargement and enriching of a City.

The command of a Country that affordeth some proper commodity, is of it self sufficient mightily to bring a City to great wealth, and to advance it to great power, and draweth thereby dependency and concourse, much advantageous also, as well for the publick weal as the private Person.



A City also may be Lord of much Merchandize and Traffick, by means of the commodious situation to many Nations, to whom it serveth and hath relation to, as Ware-houses, Roomth and Store-houses, by reason whereof, the Nations adjoyning do use to resort thereunto to make their Provisions of such things. And this consisteth in the largeness of the Ports, the fitness of the gulphs and creeks of the Seas, in the Navigable Rivers and Channels, and the plain and safe ways that leadeth to the City, or that come, or turn by or near it.

Priviledge and freedom from *Priviledge*. Customs and exactions, doth greatly encrease the Trade, and draw inhabitants to a City, whereby the same may become both rich and powerful; whereof the Marts and Fairs and Markets bear good Witness, which are frequented with great concourse of People, Tradesmen, and Merchants, for no other respect, but that they are there free and frank from Customs and Exactions. And the Cities in *Flanders* are lively Testimonies hereof, where the Customs are very small.

By reason whereof all such as have rected new Cities in times past, to draw concourse of People unto it, have granted large immunities, and priviledges at the least, to the first inhabitants thereof.

The

The like have they done that have restored Cities emptied with Plague, consumed with Wars, or afflicted with Famine, or some other scourge of God. In respect whereof, Freedom of Cities hath been often granted to such as would, with their Families, inhabit there, or would bring Corn and other necessaries for provision of victual.

The Romans, to increase their Cities, made the Towns that well deserved of them (which they after called *Municipia*) to be partakers of their Franchises and Privileges.

The first means the Romans used to allure People to make their Habitations rather in Rome than elsewhere, was the opening the Sanctuary, and giving liberty and freedom to all that would come unto them. In respect whereof there flocked thither, with their goods, numbers of People that were either racked with exactions, thrust out of their habitations, or unsafe, or unsure for their lives in their own Countries for Religion sake.

*The first Devices of Rome to allure Strangers was a Sanctuary.*

The very same reason in a manner hath increased so much the City of *Geneva*: forasmuch as it hath offered entertainment to all comers out of *France* and *Italy*, that have either forsaken, or been exiled their countries for religion sake.

Likewise,

Likewise, triumphs, goodly buildings, Battles on the Water, Triumphs, fights of Sword-players, hunting of wild Beasts, publick Shows and Sightings, Plays solemnized with great pomp and preparation, and many other such things draw the curious People to a City inspeakably, which leaves behind them much treasure, and for such cause will rather settle themselves to Inhabit there, than in other places. This was also the device of Rome in her Infancy to enlarge her self.

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*The Causes that concern the Magnificency  
of a City.*

**T**O confirm a City in her greatness, Justice, Peace and Plenty are the undoubted means: for Justice assureth every Man his own: Peace causeth all Arts and Negotiations whatsoever to flourish: and Plenty of food and victual, that sustaineth the life of Man with ease and much contentment. To conclude, all those things that cause the Greatness of a City, are also fit to conserve the same.

Sir *Walter Raleigh's*

Seat of

# GOVERNMENT.

*That the Seat of Government is upheld by the two great Pillars thereof, viz. Civil Justice, and martial Policy, which are framed out of Husbandry, Merchandize, and Gentry of this Kingdom.*

**T**hey say, that the goodliest CEDARS which grow on the high mountains of *Libanus*, thrust their roots between the cliffs of hard Rocks, the better to bear themselves against the strong storms that blow there. As Nature hath instructed those Kings of Trees, so hath Reason taught the Kings of Men, to root themselves in the hardy Hearts of their faithful Subjects. And as those Kings of Trees have large Tops, so have the Kings of Men large Crowns; whereof as the first would soon be broken from their bodies, were they not underborn by many branches; so would the other easily totter,

totter, were they not fastened on their Heads with the strong chains of Civil Justice and Martial Discipline.

1. For the Administration of the first, even God himself hath given direction, *Judges and Officers shalt thou make which shall judge the People with righteous Judgments.*

2. The second is grounded on the first Laws of the world and nature, that Force is to be repelled by Force. Yea Moses in the 20 of *Exodus*, and elsewhere, hath delivered us many Laws and Policies of War. But as we have heard of the neglect and abuse in both, so have we heard of the decline and ruin of many Kingdoms and States long before our days: for that Policy hath never yet prevailed (though it hath served for a short season) where the counterfeit hath been sold for the natural, and the outward shew and formality for the substance. Of the Emperor *Charles* the Fourth the Writers of that age witness, that he used but the name of *Justice*, and good order, being more Learned in the Law than in doing right, and that he had by far, more knowledge than conscience. Certainly the unjust Magistrate that fancieth to himself a solid and untransparable body of Gold, every ordinary wit can vitrifie, and make transparent pieces, and discern their corruptions; howsoever, because not daring, they cover their knowledge, but in the mean while it is also true, that constrained dissimulation, either in the proud heart, or in the oppressed, either  
in



in publick Estates, or in private Persons, where the fear of God is not prevalent, doth in all the leisure of her lurking, but sharpen her teeth, the voluntary being no less base, than the forced malicious. Thus it fared between the Barons of *England* and their Kings, between the Lords of *Switzerland* and their People, between the *Sicilians* and the *French*, between the *Dolphin* and *John of Burgoin*, between *Charles* the ninth and the *French* Protestants, and between *Henry* the third, his Successor, and the Lords of *Guise*. Hereof in place of more particulars, the whole world may serve for examples.

It is a difficult piece of Geography to delineate and lay out the bounds of Authority; but it is easie enough to conceive the best use of it, and by which it hath maintained itself in lasting happiness, it hath ever acquired more honour by persuading, than by beating; for as the bonds of Reason and Love are immortal, so do all other chains or cords, both rusty and rot Noble parts of their own Royal and Politick Bodies.

But we will forbear for a *Husbandmen*. while to stretch this first string of *Civil Justice*; for in respect of the first sort of Men, *viz.* of those that live by their own labour, they have never been displeased where they have been suffered to enjoy the fruit of their own travels, *Meum & Tuum*, Mine and thine is all wherein they seek their certainty and protection. True it is, that they are the Fruit-trees of the Land,

Land, which God in *Deuteronomy* commanded to be sowed, they gather Money, and hardly enjoy the wax, and break the ground with great labour, giving the best of their grain to the careless and idle.

For the second sort, which are the Merchants, as the first *Merchants* feed the Kingdom, so do these enrich it, yea, their Trades, especially those which are forcible, are not the least part of our Martial Policy, as is hereafter proved; and to do them right, they have in all ages and times assisted the Kings of this Land, not only with great sums of Money, but with great Fleets of Ships in all their enterprises beyond the Seas. The second have seldom or never offended their Princes; to enjoy their Trades at home upon tollerable conditions, have ever contented them for the injuries received from other Nations; give them but the Commission of Reprisal, they will either right themselves, or sit down with their own loss without complaint.

3. The third sort, which are the Gentry of *England*, these *Gentry* being neither seated in the lowest grounds, and thereby subject to the biting of every beast, nor in the highest Mountains, and thereby in danger to be torn with tempests; but the Valleys between both, have their parts in the inferior Justice, and spread over all, are the Garrisons of good order throughout the Realm.

F I N I S.

Sir *Walter Raleigh's*  
**OBSERVATIONS**  
TOUCHING  
*Trade and Commerce*  
With the  
**HOLLANDER,**  
And other Nations  
As it was Presented to  
King *JAMES.*

Wherein is proved,  
That our Sea and Land Com-  
modities serve to Inrich and  
Strengthen other Countries  
against our own.

*With other Passages of high Concernment.*

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London, Printed for Henry Mortlock, at the  
Phoenix in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1702.

ST. MARY'S CHURCH  
OBSERVATIONS

TOUCHING

THE STATE AND CONDUCT

OF THE

HOLLANDERS

AND OTHER NATIONS

AS IT WAS PRESENTED TO



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May it please your Most Excellent

# MAJESTY,

**A**ccording to my duty, I am imboldned to put your Majesty in mind, that about fourteen or fifteen years past, I presented you a Book of such extraordinary importance, for honour and profit of your Majesty and Posterity, and doubting that it hath been laid aside, and not considered of, I am encouraged (under your Majesties pardon) to present unto you one more, consisting of five Propositions: Neither are they grounded upon vain or idle grounds, but upon the fruition of those wonderful blessings wherewith God hath endued your Majesties Sea and Land, by which means you may not only enrich and fill your Coffers, but, also encrease such might and strength, (as shall appear, if it may stand with your Majesties good liking to put the same in execution in the true and right form :) so that there is no doubt but it will make you in short time a Prince of such power, so great, as shall make all the Princes your Neighbours, as well glad of your friendship, as fearful to offend you. That this is so, I humbly desire that your Majesty will vouchsafe to peruse this



advertisement with that care and judgment  
which God hath given you.

Most humbly praying your Majesty, that whereas  
I presented these five Propositions together,  
as in their own natures, jointly depending  
one of another, and so linked together, as  
the distraction of any one will be an appa-  
rent main and disabling to the rest; That  
your Majesty would be pleased that they  
may not be separated, but all handled to-  
gether jointly and severally, by Commissioners,  
with as much speed and secrecy as can be,  
and made fit to be reported to your Maje-  
sty, whereby I may be the better able to  
perform to your Highness that which I  
have promised, and will perform upon my  
life, if I be not prevented by some that  
may seek to hinder the honour and profit of  
your Majesty for their own private ends.

**T**HE true ground, course and form herein  
mentioned, shall appear how other Coun-  
tries make themselves powerful and rich in all  
kinds, by Merchandize, Manufactory, and fulness  
of Trade, having no Commodities in their own  
Country growing to do it withal.

And herein likewise shall appear, how easie it  
is to draw the wealth and strength of other Coun-  
tries to your Kingdom, and what royal, rich, and  
plentiful means God hath given this Land to do it  
(which cannot be denied) for support of Traffick  
and continual employment of your People, for re-  
plenishing of your Majesties Coffers.

And if I were not fully assured to improve your Native Commodities, with other Traffick, three millions of pounds more yearly than now they are, and to bring not only to your Majesties Coffers within the space of two or three Years, near two millions of pounds, but to encrease your Revenues many thousands yearly, and to please and greatly profit your People, I would not have undertaken so great a Work: All which will grow by advancement of all kind of Merchandizing to the uttermost, thereby to bring Manufactory into the Kingdom, and to set on work all sorts of People in the Realm, as other Nations do, which raise their greatness by the abundance of your native commodities; whilst we are parling and disputing whether it be good for us or not.

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Thus moved, began to live into the  
of their policies and circumstances  
whereby they strain and shift cover to  
the wealth and coin of this Kingdom,  
with our own Commodities to work  
and ally bear up one of trading  
other Countries; I found that they  
fully obtained these their purposes by  
convenient priviledges, and granted  
to our Merchant, England with absolute  
and abundance of home-bred Com  
dies which God hath vouchsafed your

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*May it please Your most Excellent*

# MAJESTY.

**I** Have diligently in my Travels observed how the Countreies herein mentioned do grow potent with abundance of all things to serve themselves and other Nations, where nothing groweth, and that their never dried fountains of wealth, by which they raise their estate to such an admirable heighth, as that they are at this Day even a Wonder to the World, proceedeth from your Majesties Seas and Lands.

I thus moved, began to dive into the depth of their policies and circumventing practices, whereby they drain and still cover to exhaust the wealth and coin of this Kingdom, and so with our own Commodities to weaken us, and finally beat us quite out of trading in other Countries; I found that they more fully obtain'd these their purposes by their convenient priviledges, and settled constitutions, than *England* with all the Laws, and superabundance of home-bred Commodities which God hath vouchsafed your Sea and

and Land : And these, and other mentioned in this Book, are the urgent causes that provoked me in my love and bounden duty to your Majesty and my Country, to address my former Books to your Princely hands and consideration.

By which Priviledges they draw multitudes of Merchants to trade with them, and many other Nations to inhabit amongst them, which makes them populous, and there they make Store-houses of all foreign Commodities, wherewith upon every occasion of scarcity and dearth, they are able to furnish foreign Countries with plenty of those Commodities, which before in time of plenty they ingrossed, and brought home from the same places, which doth greatly augment Power, Treasure to their State, besides the common good in setting their Poor and People on Work.

To which priviledges they add smallness of Custom, and liberty of Trade, which maketh them flourish, and their Country so plentiful of all kind of Coyn and Commodities, where little or nothing groweth, and their Merchants so flourish, that when a loss cometh, they scarce feel it.

To bring this to pass, they have many advantages of us, the one is, by their fashio-  
ned Ships called *Boyers*, *Hoybarks*, *Hoyes*, and others that are made to hold great bulk of Merchandise, and to sail with a few Men for profit. For example, though an *English Ship* of two hundred Tuns, and a *Holland Ship*,

or any other of the petty States of the same burthen be at *Dantzick*, or any other place beyond the Seas, or in *England*, they do serve the Merchant better cheap by one hundred pounds in his freight, than we can, by reason he hath but nine or ten Mariners, and we near thirty; thus he saveth twenty Mens meat and wages in a Voyage; and so in all other their Ships, according to their burthen, by which means they are freighted wheresoever they come, to great profit, whilst our Ships lie still and decay, or go to *Newcastle* for Coals.

Of this their smalness of Custom inwards and outwards, we have daily experience: for if two *English* Ships, or two of any other Nations be at *Bordeaux*, both laden with Wine of three hundred Tuns apiece, the one bound for *Holland*, or any other petty States, the other for *England*, the Merchant shall pay about Nine Hundred Pounds Custom here and other Duties, when the other in *Holland*, or any other petty States, shall be cleared for less than Fifty Pounds, and so in all other Wares and Merchandizes accordingly, which draws all Nations to Traffick with them; and although it seems but small duties which they receive, yet the multitudes of all kind of Commodities and Coyn that is brought in by themselves and others, and carried out by themselves and others, is so great, that they receive more Custom and Duties to the State, by the greatness of their Commerce in one year, than  
*England*



England doth in two years: for the one hundredth part of Commodities are not spent in Holland, but vended into other Countries, which maketh all the Country-merchants to buy and sell, and encrease Ships and Mariners to transport them.

My travels and meaning is not to diminish (neither hath been) your Majesties Revenues, but exceedingly to encrease them, as shall appear, and yet please the People, as in other parts they do.

Notwithstanding, their Excises bring them in great Revenues, yet whosoever will adventure to *Bordeaux* but for six Tuns of Wine, shall be free of Excise in his own House all the year long; and this is done of purpose to animate and encrease Merchants in their Country.

And if it happen that a Trade be stopped by any foreign Nation, which they heretofore usually had, or hear of any good Trading which they never had, they will hinder others, and seek either by favour, money, or force, to open the gap of Traffick for advancement of Trade amongst themselves, and employment of their People.

And when there is a new Course or Trade erected, they give free Custom inwards and outwards, for the better maintenance of Navigation and encouragement of the People to that business.

Thus they and others glean the wealth and strength from us to themselves, and these reasons following procure them this advantage of us.

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1. The Merchant Staplers which make all things in abundance, by reason of their Store-houses continually replenished with all kind of Commodities.

2. The liberty of free Traffick for Strangers to buy and sell in *Holland*, and other Countries and States, as if they were free-born, maketh great intercourse.

3. The small duties levied upon Merchants, draws all Nations to trade with them.

4. Their fashioned Ships continually freighted before ours by reason of their few Mariners, and great bulk, serving the Merchant cheap.

5. Their forwardness to further all manner of trading.

6. Their wonderful employment of their Busses for Fishing, and the great returns they make.

7. Their giving free Custom inwards and outwards, for any new-erected Trade, by means whereof they have gotten already almost the sole Trade into their hands.

All Nations may buy and sell freely in *France*, and there is free Custom outwards twice or thrice in a year, at which time our Merchants themselves do make their great sales of English Commodities, and do buy and lade their great bulk of *French* Commodities to serve for the whole year; and in *Roche* in *France*, and in *Britain*, free Custom all the year long, except some small Toll, which makes great Traffick, and maketh them flourish.

In Denmark to incourage and inrich the Merchants, and to increafe Ships and Mariners, free Custom all the year long for their own Merchants, except one Month between *Bartholomew-tide* and *Michaelmas*.

The *Havence* Towns have advantage of us, as *Holland*, and other petty States have, and in most things imitate them, which makes them exceeding rich and plentiful of all kind of Commodities, and Coyn, and so strong in Ships and Mariners, that some of their Towns have near one thousand Sail of Ships.

The Merchandizes of *France*, *Portugal*, *Spain*, *Italy*, *Turkey*, *East* and *West-Indies*, are transported most by the *Hollanders* and other petty States into the *East* and *North-east* Kingdoms of *Pomerland*, *Spruceland*, *Poland*, *Denmark*, *Sweedland*, *Leifland* and *Germany*, and the Merchandizes brought from the last mentioned Kingdoms, being wonderful many, are likewise by the *Hollanders* and other petty States most transported into the *Southern* and *Western* Dominions, and yet the situation of *England* lieth far better for a Store-house to serve the *South-east* and *North-east* Regions, than theirs doth, and hath far better means to do it, if we will bend our course for it.

No sooner a dearth of Fish, Wine, or Corn here, and other Merchandize, but forthwith the *Emdeners*, *Hamburgers*, and *Hollanders* out of their Store-houses lade fifty, or one hundred ships, or more, dispersing themselves round about this Kingdom, and carry away great store of Coyn and Wealth for little

the commodity in those times of dearth, by which means they suck our Commonwealth of their riches, cut down our Merchants, and decay our Navigation, not with their natural Commodities, which grow in their own Countries, but the Merchandizes of other Countries and Kingdoms.

Therefore it is far more easie to serve our selves, hold up our Merchants, and encrease our Ships and Mariners, and strengthen the Kingdom, and not only keep our Money in our own Realm, which other Nations still rob us of, but bring in theirs who carry ours away, and make the bank of Coyn and Store-house to serve other Nations as well and far better cheap than they.

*Amsterdam* is never without Seven Hundred Thousand Quarters of Corn, besides the plenty they daily vend, and none of this groweth in their own Country: a Dearth in *England, France, Spain, Italy, Portugal*, and other places, is truly observed to enrich *Holland* Seven Years after, and likewise the petty States.

For example, the last Dearth six years past, the *Hamburgers, Embdeners, and Hollanders*, out of their Store-houses furnished this Kingdom, and from *Southampton, Exeter, and Bristol*, in a year and a half they carried away near two Hundred Thousand Pounds from these parts only: then what great quantity of Coyn was transported round about your Kingdom from every Port-Town, and from your City of *London*, and other Cities cannot be esteemed so little as two millions, to the great

great decay of your Kingdom, and impoverishing your People, discredit to the Company of Merchants, and dishonour to the Land, that any Nation that have no Corn in their own Country growing, should serve this famous Kingdom, which God hath so inabled within it self.

They have a continual Trade into this Kingdom with Five or Six Hundred Ships yearly, with Merchandizes of other Countries and Kingdoms, and store them up in Store-houses here until the prices rise to their minds, and we trade not with Fifty Ships into their Country in a year, and the said number are about this Rea'm every Eastern wind, for the most part to lade Coals and other Merchandize.

Unless there be a scarcity, or dearth, or high prices, all Merchants do forbear that place where great Impositions are laid upon the Merchandize, and those places slenderly shipped, ill served, and at dear rates, and oftentimes in scarcity, and want employment for the People; and those petty States finding truly by experience, that small duties imposed upon Merchandize draw all Traffick unto them, and free liberty for Strangers to buy and sell, doth make continual Mart; therefore what Excises or Impositions are laid upon the Common People, yet they still ease, uphold and maintain the Merchants by all possible means, of purpose to draw the wealth and strength of Christendom to themselves; whereby it appeareth though the duties



ties be but small, yet the customs for going out and coming in do so abound, that they increase their Revenues greatly, and make profit, plenty and employment of all sorts by Sea and Land to serve themselves and other Nations, as is admirable to behold: And likewise the great commerce which groweth by the same means, enableth the common People to bear their burthen laid upon them, and yet they grow rich by reason of the great Commerce and Trade, occasioned by their convenient privileges, and commodious constitutions.

There was an intercourse of Traffick in *Genoa*, and there was the flower of commerce, as appeareth by their antient Records, and their sumptuous Buildings. For all Nations traded with Merchandize to them, and there was the Store-house of all *Italy*, and other places; but after they had set a great custome of 16 per Cent. all Nations left trading with them, which made them give themselves wholly to usury, and at this day we have not three Ships go there in a Year: but to the contrary, the Duke of *Florence* builded *Legorn*, and set small Custom upon Merchandize, and gave them great and pleasing privileges, which hath made a rich and strong City with a flourishing State.

Furthermore touching some particulars needful to be considered, of the mighty huge Fishing that ever could be heard of in the World, is upon the Coasts of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; but the great Fishery is in the

the Low-Countries, and other petty States, wherewith they serve themselves and all Christendom, as shall appear.

In four Towns in the East Kingdoms within the Sound, *Quinsborough, Elbing, Stratten, and Dantzick*, there are carried and vended in a Year, between Thirty and Forty Thousand Lasts of Herrings, sold but at Fifteen or Sixteen Pounds the Last, is about 600000 *l.* and we none.

Besides, *Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Liffland, Rie, Nevill, the Narue*, and other Port Towns within the Sound, there is carried and vended above 10000 Lasts of Herrings, sold at Fifteen or Sixteen Pounds the Last, is 170000 Pounds more yearly; in such request are our Herrings there, that they are oftentimes sold for 20, 24, 30 and 36 Pounds the Last, and we send not one Barrel into all those East Countries.

The *Hollanders* sent into *Russia* near Fifteen Hundred Lasts of Herrings, sold about Thirty Shillings the Barrel, amounteth to 27000 Pounds, and we but about Twenty or Thirty Lasts.

To *Stonde, Hamborough, Breame, and Embden* upon the River of *Elue, Weaser, and Embs*, are carried and vended of Fish and Herrings about 6000 Lasts, sold about Fifteen or Sixteen Pounds the Last, is 100000 *l.* and we none.

*Cleaveland, Galickland*, up the River of *Rhine* to *Cullen, Frankford, or the Maine*, and so over all *Germany*, is carried and vended

Fish

*Fish and Herrings* near 22000 Lasts, sold at Twenty Pounds the Last, is 440000 Pounds, and we none.

Up the River of *Maas*, *Leigh*, *Mastrich*, *Venlow*, *Sutphin*, *Deventer*, *Campan*, *Swoole*, and all over *Lukeland* is carried and vended 7000 Lasts of *Herrings*, sold at Twenty Pound the Last, is 140000 Pound, and we none.

To *Gilderland*, *Artois*, *Henaule*, *Brabant*, *Flanders*, up the River of *Antwerp*, all over the Arch-Dukes Countries, are carried and vended between Eight or Nine Thousand Lasts, sold at Eighteen Pound the Last, is 171000 Pound, and we none.

The *Hollanders* and others carried of all sorts of *Herrings* to *Roan* only in one Year, besides all other parts of *France*, 50000 Lasts of *Herrings*, sold at Twenty Pound the Last, is 1000000 Pound, and we not one Hundred Last thither : they are sold oftentimes there for Twenty, and Four and Twenty, and Thirty Pound the Last.

Between *Christmas* and *Lent*, the Duties for *Fish* and *Herrings* came to 15000 Crowns at *Roan* only that Year, the late *Queen* deceased ; Sir *Thomas Parrie* was Agent there then, and *S. Savors* his Man knows it to be true, who handled the business for pulling down the *Impositions*. Then what great summs of Money came to all in the Port Towns to enrich the *French* King's Coffers, and to all the *Kings* and *States* throughout *Christendom* to enrich their Coffers ; besides the great quantity vended to the Straights, and the

multitude spent in the *Low Countries*, where there is likewise sold for many a Hundred Thousand pound more yearly, is necessary to be remembred; and the stream to be turned to the good of this Kingdom, to whose Sea-coasts God only hath sent and given these great blessings, and multitude of riches for us to take, howsoever it hath been neglected to the hurt of this Kingdom, that any Nation should carry away out of this Kingdom yearly great masses of Money for Fish taken in our Seas, and sold again by them to us, which must needs be a great dishonour to our Nation, and hindrance to this Realm.

From any Port Town of any Kingdom within Christendom, the Bridge-master or the Wharf-master for Twenty Shillings a Year will deliver a true Note of the Number of Lasts of *Herrings* brought to their Wharfs, and their prices commonly they are sold at, but the number brought to *Dantzick*, *Cullen*, *Roterdam*, and *Enchusen* is so great, as it will cost Three, Four, or Five Pounds for a true Note.

The abundance of Corn groweth in the *East Kingdoms*, but the great Store-houses for Grain to serve Christendom and the *Heathen Countries* in time of dearth, is in the *Low Countries*, wherewith upon every occasion of scarcity and dearth they do enrich themselves Seven Years after, imploy their People, and get great freights for their Ships in other Countries, and we not one in that course.

The

The mighty Vineyards and Store of Salt is in *France* and *Spain*; but the great Vintage and Staple of Salt is in the *Low Countries*, and they send near one Thousand Sail of Ships with Salt and Wine only into the *East Kingdoms* yearly, besides other places, and we not one in that course.

The exceeding Groves of Wood are in the *East Kingdoms*, but the huge Piles of *Wainscot*, *Clapboard*, *Fir-deal*, *Mass*, and *Timber*, is in the *Low Countries*, where none grow, wherewith they serve themselves, and other parts, and this Kingdom with those Commodities; they have Five or Six Hundred great long Ships continually using that Trade, and we none in that course.

The *Wooll*, *Cloth*, *Lead*, *Tin*, and divers other Commodities are in *England*, but by means of our *Wooll* and *Cloth* going out rough, undrest, and undyed, there is an exceeding *Manufactory* and *Drapery* in the *Low Countries*, wherewith they serve themselves and other Nations, and advance greatly the employment of their People at home, and Traffick abroad, and put down ours in foreign parts, where our Merchants trade unto, with our own Commodities.

We send into the *East Kingdoms* yearly but one hundred Ships, and our Trade chiefly dependeth upon three Towns, *Elbing*, *Kingsborough*, and *Dantzick*, for making our Sails, and buying their Commodities, sent into this Realm at dear rates, which this Kingdom bears the burthen of.

The



The *Low-Countries* send into the *East Kingdoms* yearly about Three Thousand Ships, trading into every City and Port Town, taking the advantage, and vending their Commodities to exceeding profit, and buying and lading their Ships with plenty of those Commodities, which they have from every of those Towns 20 per Cent. better cheap than we, by reason of the difference of the Coyn, and their *Fish* yields ready money, which greatly advanceth their Traffick, and decayeth ours.

They send into *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Italy*, from the *East Kingdoms* that passeth through the *Sound*, and through your narrow *Sears*, yearly of the *East Country* Commodities about Two Thousand Ships, and we none in that course.

They Trade into all Cities, and Port Towns in *France*, and we chiefly to Five or Six.

They Traffick into every City and Port-Town round about this Land, with Five or Six Hundred Ships yearly, and we chiefly but to three Towns in their Country, and but with Forty Ships.

Notwithstanding the *Low-Countries* have as many Ships and Vessels as Eleven Kingdoms of *Christendom* have, let *England* be one, and build every Year near one Thousand Ships, and not a timber-tree growing in their own Country, and that also all their home-bred Commodities that grow in their Land in a Year, (less than one Hundred good Ships are able

able to carry them away at one time) yet they handle the matter so for setting them all on work, that their Traffick with the Haunce Towns exceeds in shipping all *Christendom*.

We have all things of our own in superabundance to increase Traffick, and Timber to build Ships, and Commodities of our own to lade about one Thousand Ships and Vessels at one time, (besides the great fishing) and as fast as they have made their Voyages, might relade again, and so Year after Year all the Year long to continue, yet our Ships and Mariners decline, and Traffick and Merchants daily decay.

The main Bulk and Mass of *Herrings* from whence they raise so many Millions yearly that enrich other Kingdoms, *Kings* and *States* Coffers, and likewise their own People, proceedeth from your Seas and Lands, and the return of the Commodities and Coyn they bring home in exchange of Fish, and other Commodities are so huge, as would require a large Discourse apart; all the amends they make us is, they beat us out of Trade in all parts with our own Commodities.

For instance, we had a great Trade in *Russia* Seventy Years, and about Fourteen Years past we sent store of goodly Ships to trade in those Parts, and Three Years past we set out but Four, and this last Year Two or Three; but to the contrary, the *Hollanders* about Twenty Years since traded thither with Two Ships only, yet now they are in

increased to about Thirty or Forty, and one of their Ships is as great as two of ours, and at the same time (in their troubles there) that we decreased, they increased, and the chiefest Commodities they carry with them thither, is *English Cloath, Herrings* taken in our Seas, *English Lead* and Pewter made of our Tin, besides other Commodities; all which we may do better than they. And although it be a cheap Country, and the Trade very gainful, yet we have almost brought it to nought, by disorderly trading, joint-stock, and the Merchants banding themselves one against another.

And so likewise we used to have Eight or Nine great Ships to go continually a Fishing to *Wardhouse*, and this year but one, and so *pro rata* they outgo us in all kind of Fishing and Merchandizing in all Countries, by reason they spare no cost, nor deny no privileges that may incourage advancement of Trade and Manufactory.

*Now if it please, and with your Majesties  
good liking stand,*

**T**O take notice of these things, which I have conceived to be fit for your Majesties consideration, which in all humbleness (as duty bindeth me) I do tender unto your Majesty, for the unfeigned Zeal I bear to the advancement of your honour and profit, and the general good of your Subjects; it being apparent, that no three Kingdoms in  
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*Christendom* can compare with your Majesty for support of Traffick, and continual employment of your People within themselves, having so many great means both by Sea and Land to enrich your Coffers, multiply your Navy, enlarge your Traffick, make your Kingdoms powerful, and your People rich; yet through idleness they are poor, wanting employment, many of your Land and Coast-Towns much ruined, and your Kingdom in need of Coyn, your Shipping, Traffick, and Mariners decayed, whilst your Majesties Neighbour Printes, without these means abound in Wealth, enlarge their Towns, increase their Shipping, Traffick, and Mariners, and find out such employment for their People, that they are all advantageous to their Commonwealth, only by ordaining commodious Constitutions in Merchandizing, and fulness of Trade in Manufactory.

*God hath blest your Majesty with incomparable Benefits:*

**A**S with Copper, Lead, Iron, Tin, Allum, Copperas, Saffron, Fells, and divers other native Commodities, to the number of about one Hundred, and other Manufactories vendible to the Number of about one Thousand, (as shall appear) besides Corn, whereof great quantity of Beer is made, and most transported by Strangers, as also Wooll whereof much is shipped forth unwrought into Cloath or Stuffs, and Cloath transported undrest

undrest and undyed, which doth imploy and maintain near Fifty Thousand People in foreign parts, your Majesties People wanting, the imployment in *England*, many of them being inforced to live in great want, and seek it beyond the Seas.

Coals which do imploy Hundreds of Strangers Ships yearly to transport them out of this Kingdom, whilst we do not imploy twenty Ships in that course.

Iron Ordnance, which is a Jewel of great value, far more than it is accounted, by reason that no other Country could ever attain unto it, although they have assayed with great charge.

Your Majesty hath Timber of your own for building of Ships, and Commodities plenty to lade them, which Commodities other Nations want, yet your Majesties People decline in Shipping, Traffick, and Mariners.

These Inconveniencies happen by three causes especially.

1. *The unprofitable course of Merchandizing.*
2. *The want of course of full Manufactory of our home-bred Commodities.*
3. *The undervaluing of our Coyns, contrary to the rules of other Nations.*



*For Instance.*

**T**HE Merchant Adventurers by over-trading upon credit, or with money taken up upon exchange, whereby they lose usually 10 or 12, and sometimes 15 or 16 *per cent.* are enforced to make sale of their Cloaths at under-rates, or keep their credit, whereby Cloath being the Jewel of the Land, is undervalued, and the Merchant in short time eaten out.

The Merchants of *Ipswich*, whose Trade for *Elbing* is chiefly for fine Cloaths, all dyed and drest within our Land, do for the most part, buy there fine Cloaths upon Time, and by reason they go so much upon credit, they are enforced (not being able to stand upon their Markets) to sell, giving 15 or 18 Months day of payment for their Cloaths, and having sold them, they then presently sell their Bills so taken for Cloath, allowing after the rate of 14 or 15, and sometimes 20 *per cent.* which Money they imploy forthwith in Wares at excessive prices, and lose as much more that way, by that time their Wares be sold at home: Thus by over-running themselves upon credit, they disable themselves and others, inhancing the prices of foreign Commodities, and pulling down the rates of our own.

The West Country Merchants that trade with Cloaths into *France* or *Spain*, do usually imploy their Servants (young Men of small

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experience) who by cunning combining of the *French* and *Spanish* Merchants, are so entrapped, that when all Customs and Charges be accounted, their Masters shall hardly receive their principal Moneys. As for returns out of *France*, their Silver and Gold is so highly rated, that our Merchants cannot bring it home, but to great Loss; therefore the *French* Merchants set higher rates upon their Commodities, which we must either buy dear, or let our Moneys lie dead there a long time, until we may conveniently imploy the same.

The Northern Merchants of *Turk*, *Hull* and *Newcastle*, trade only in white Kersies and coloured, Dozzens, and every Merchant, be his Adventure never so small, doth for the most part send over an unexperienced Youth, unfit for merchandizing, which bringeth to the Stranger great advantage, but to his Master and Commonwealth great hindrance, for they before their Goods be landed, go to the Stranger, and buy such quantities of Iron, Flax, Corn, and other Commodities, as they are bound to lade their Ships withal, which Ships they engage themselves to relade within Three Weeks, or a Month, and do give the price the Merchant Stranger asketh, because he gives them credit, and lets them ship away their Iron, Flax and other Commodities, before they have sold their Kersies, and other Commodities, by which means extraordinary dear Commodities are returned into this Realm, and the Servant also enforced to sell his Cloaths underfoot; and oftentimes to

H                      loss,

loss, to keep his credit, and to make payment for the Goods before shipped home, having some 20 Days or a Months Respite to sell the Cloaths, and to give the Merchant satisfaction for his Iron, Flax, and other Wares; by which extremities our home-bred Commodities are abased.

*Touching Manufactory.*

**T**Here have been about Fourscore Thousand undrest and undyed Cloaths yearly transported.

It is therefore evident, that the Kingdom hath been yearly deprived of about 400000 l. within this Five and Fifty Years, which is near Twenty Millions that would have been gained by the labour of poor Workmen in that time, with the Merchants gains for bringing in dying Stuffs, and return of Cloaths drest and dyed, with other benefits to the Realm, besides exceeding enlarging of Traffick, and increase of Ships and Mariners.

There would have been gained in that time about Three Millions by increase of Custom upon Commodities returned for Cloaths drest and dyed, and for dying Stuffs, which would have more plentifully been brought in and used for the same.

There hath been also transported in that time yearly by Bayse, Northern and Devonshire

Kersies

Kersies white, about 30000 Cloaths, counting Three Kersies to a Cloath, whereby hath been lost about Five Millions by those sorts of Cloaths in that time, which would have come to poor Workmen for their labour, with the Customs for dying stuffs, and the Peoples profit for bringing them in, with returns of other Commodities and Fraights for Shipping.

Baize are transported white into *Amsterdam*, and there being drest and dyed, are shipped into *Spain*, *Portugal*, and other Kingdoms, where they are sold in the name of *Flemish* Baize, setting their own Town-Seal upon them, so that we lose the very name of our home-bred Commodities, and other Countries get the reputation and profit thereof. Lamentable it is, that this Land should be deprived of so many above-mentioned Millions, and that our Native Commodities of Cloath, ordained by God for the natural Subjects, being so royal and rich in it self, should be driven to so small advantage of reputation and profit to your Majesty and People, and so much improved and intercepted by Strangers, considering that God hath enabled, and given your Majesty power to advance dressing and dying, and transporting of all your Cloaths within a Year or two; I speak it knowingly, to shew how it may be done laudably, lawfully, and approved to be honourable, feasible, and profitable.

All the Companies of your Land transport their cloaths drest and dyed, to the good of your Kingdom, except the Merchant Adventurers, whereby the *Eastland* and *Turkey* Merchants, with other Companies, do increase your Majesties Customs by bringing in, and spending dying Stuffs, and setting your People on work, by dressing before they transport them; and they might increase far more Custom to your Majesty, and make much more profit to themselves, and this Realm, and set many Thousands of Poor People more on work for dressing and dying, and likewise employ more Ships and Mariners, for bringing in dying Stuffs, were it not for the Merchant Adventurers, who transport their Cloaths white, rough, undrest and undyed, into the *Low Countries*, where they sell them to the Strangers, who afterwards dress, dye and stretch them to such *unreasonable lengths*, contrary to our Law, that they prevent and fore-stall our Markets, and cross the just prohibitions of our State and Realm, by their Agents and Factors lying in divers places with our own cloaths, to the great decay of this Kingdom in general, and discredit of our cloaths in particular.

If the accompt were truly known, it would be found that they make not clear profit only by cloath transported rough, undrest, and undied, Sixty Thousand Pounds a year: But it is most apparent your Majesty in your Customs, your Merchants in their sales and prices, your Subjects in their labours, for  
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lack of not dressing and dying, your Ships and Mariners in not bringing in of dying stuffs, and spending of Allum, is hindred yearly near a Million of Pounds, so that trade is driven to the great hindrance of your Majesty and People, by permitting your native commodities to pass rough, undrest, and undyed, by the Merchant Adventurer.

*Touching Fishing.*

THE great Sea-business of Fishing doth imploy near Twenty Thousand Ships and Vessels, and Four Hundred Thousand People are imployed yearly upon your Coast of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with Sixty Ships of War, which may prove dangerous.

The *Hollanders* only have about three Thousand Ships to fish withal, and Fifty Thousand People are imployed yearly by them upon your Majesties coasts of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

These three Thousand fishing Ships and Vessels, of the *Hollanders*, do imploy near Nine Thousand other Ships and Vessels, and one Hundred and Fifty Thousand Persons more by Sea and Land to make provision to dress and transport the Fish they take, and return commodities, whereby they are inabled, and do build yearly one Thousand Ships and Vessels, having not one Timber-tree growing in their own Country, nor home-bred commodities to lade one Hundred Ships, and

yet they have Twenty Thousand Ships and Vessels, and all imployed.

King *Henry* the Seventh, desirous to make his Kindoms Powerful and Rich, by increase of Ships and Mariners, and employment of his People, sent unto his Sea-coast Towns, moving them to set up the great and rich fishing, with promise to give them needful priviledges, and to furnish them with loans of Money, if need were, to encourage them, yet his People were slack. Now since I have traced this business, and made mine endeavours known unto your Majesty, your Noblemen, able Merchants, and others, (who having set down under their hands for more assurance) promised to disburse large sums of Money for the building up of this great and rich large Sea-city, which will increase more strength to your Land, give more comfort, and do more good to all your Cities and Towns, than all the Companies of your Kingdom, having fit and needful priviledges, for the upholding and strengthening of so weighty and needful a business.

For example, Twenty Busses built and put into a Sea-coast Town wherethere is not one Ship before there must be to carry, recarry, transport, and make provision for one Bus three Ships; likewise every Ship setting on work thirty several Trades and Occupations, and Four Hundred Thousand Persons by Sea and Land, insomuch as Three Hundred Persons are not able to make one Fleet of Nets

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in Four Months for one Buſs, which is no ſmall employment.

Thus by Twenty Buſſes are ſet on work, near Eight Thouſand Perſons by Sea and Land, and an encrease of above one Thouſand Mariners, and a Fleet of Eighty Sail of Ships to belong to one Town, where none were before to take the Wealth out of the Sea to enrich and ſtrengthen the Land, only by raiſing of Twenty Buſſes.

Then what good one Thouſand, or Two Thouſand will do I leave to your Majeſties conſideration.

It is worthy to be noted, how neceſſary Fiſhermen are to the Commonwealth, and how needful to be advanced and cheriſhed, &c.

1. For taking God's bleſſing out of the Sea to enrich the Realm; which otherwiſe we loſe.

2. For ſetting the People on work.

3. For making plenty and cheapneſs in the Realm.

4. For increaſing of Shipping, to make the Land powerful.

5. For a continual Nurſery for breeding and encreasing our Mariners.

6. For making employment of all ſorts of People, as blind, lame, and others by Sea and Land from Ten or Twelve years and upwards.

7. For enriching your Majeſties Coſſers, for Merchandizes returned from other Countries for Fiſh and Herrings.

8. For the encrease and enabling of Merchants, which now droop and daily decay.

*Touching the Coyn.*

**F**OR the most part, all Monarchies and Free-states, both *Heathen* and *Christian*, as *Turky*, *Barbary*, *France*, *Poland*, and others, do hold for a rule of never-failing profit, to keep their Coyn at higher rates within their own Territories, than it is in other Kingdoms.

*The Causes.*

1. To preserve the Coyn within their own Territories.
2. To bring unto themselves the Coyn of Foreign Princes.
3. To enforce Merchant strangers to take their commodities at high rates, which this Kingdom bears the burthen of.

*For instance.*

**T**HE King of *Barbary* perceiving the Trade of *Christian* Merchants to encrease in his Kingdom, and that the returns out of his Kingdoms were most in Gold, whereby it was much enhanced, raised his Ducket (being then currant for three ounces) to Four, Five, and Six ounces; nevertheless it was no more worth in *England*, being

so raised, than when it went for three ounces.

This Ducket currant for three ounces in *Barbary*, was then worth in *England* Seven Shillings and Six Pence, and no more worth, being raised to Six Ounces, since which time (adding to it a small piece of Gold) he hath raised it to Eight, and lastly to Ten Ounces, yet at this day it is worth but Ten Shillings, and one Penny, notwithstanding your Majesties late raising of your Gold.

Having thus raised his Gold, he then devised to have plenty of Silver brought into his Kingdom, raised the Royal of Eight, being but Two Ounces, to Three and Three Pence half-penny, which caused great plenty of Silver to be brought in, and to continue in his Kingdom.

*France.*

**T**HE *English Jacobus* goeth for Three and Twenty Shillings in Merchandizing. The *French Crown* for Seven Shillings and Six pence.

Also the King hath raised his Silver Four Souce in the Crown.



*North-Holland.*

**T**HE double *Jacobus* goeth for Three-  
and Twenty Shillings Sterling.  
The *Englsh* Shilling is there Eleven Sci-  
vers, which is Two Shillings over in the  
Pound.

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*Poland.*

**T**HE King of *Poland* raised his  
*Hungary Duckett* from 56 to  
77½ *Polish* groshes, and the Rix Dol-  
lor from 36 to 47 and ½ groshes, the  
Rix Dollor worth in *Poland* 47 and ½  
groshes is by account valued at 6 s. 4 d.  
Sterling; and here in *England* is worth  
but 4 s. 7 d. The *Hungary Duckett* 77  
is worth by account in *Poland* 10 s.  
4 d. and in *England* is worth but 7 s.  
10 d. The *Jacobus* of *England* here cur-  
rant for 22 s. in *Poland* 24 s. at the  
rate of 7 s. 10 d. for the *Hungary*  
*Duckett*.

Now to turn the stream and riches raised by your Majesties native Commodities into the natural Channel, from whence it hath been a long time diverted ;

*May it please your Majesty to consider these points following.*

1. **W**Hether it be not fit that a State-Merchant be settled within your Dominions, which may both dispose more profitably of the riches thereof, and encounter policies of Merchant Strangers, who now go beyond us in all kind of profitable Merchandizing ?

2. Whether it be not necessary that your native Commodities should receive their full Manufactory by your Subjects within your Dominions ?

3. Whether it be not fit the Coals should yield your Majesty and Subjects a better value, by permitting them to pass out of the Land, and that they be in your Subjects Shipping only transported ?

4. Whether it be not fit your Majesty presently raise your Coyn to as high rates, as it is in the parts beyond the Seas ?

5. Whether it be not necessary that the great Sea-business of Fishing be forthwith set forward ?

*If it please your Majesty to approve of these Considerations, and accordingly to put them in a right course of execution, I assure my self (by Gods help)*

in short time your Majesties Customs, and the annual comings into your Treasuries will be exceedingly increased, your Ships and Mariners multiplied, your Land and waste Towns (which were now run out of Gates) better replenished, and your People employed, to the great enriching and Honour of your Kingdom, with the applause, and to the comfort of all your Loyal Subjects.

May it please your Majesty,

**I** Have the rather undergone the pains to look into their Policies, because I have heard them profess they hoped to get the whole Trade and Shipping of Christendom into their own hands, as well for transportation, as otherwise for the command and mastery of the Seas, to which end I find that they do daily encrease their Traffick, augmenting their Shipping, multiplying their Mariners, strength, and wealth in all kinds, whereat I have grieved the more, when I considered how God hath endued this Kingdom above any three Kingdoms in Christendom with divers varieties of home-bred Commodities, which others have not, and cannot want, and endued us with sundry other means to continue and maintain trade of Merchandizing and Fishing beyond them all, whereby we might prevent the deceivers, ingross the commodities of the ingrossers, enrich our selves, and increase our Navigation, Shipping, and Mariners, so as it would make all Nations to vail the Bonnet to England,

land, if we would not be still wanting to our selves in imployment of our People.

Which People being divided into three parts two parts of them are meer spenders and consumers of a Commonwealth, therefore I aim at these points following.

To allure and encourage the People for their private gain, to be all workers and erecters of a Commonwealth.

To enrich and fill your Majesties Coffers by a continual coming in, and make your People wealthy, by means of their great and profitable trading and imployment.

To vend our home-bred commodities to far more reputation, and much more profit to the King, the Merchant, and the Kingdom.

To return the Merchandizes of other Countries at far cheaper rates than now they are, to the great good of the Realm in general.

To make the Land powerful by increasing of Ships and Mariners.

To make your Peoples takings in general to be much more every Day, than now they are, which by Gods help, will grow continually more and more by the great concourse and commerce that will come by settled constitutions and convenient priviledges, as in other parts they do by this their great freedom of Trade.

All this, and much more is done in other Countries, where nothing groweth, so that of nothing they make great things.

Then

Then how much more mighty things might we make, where so great abundance, and variety of home-bred commodities, and rich materials grows, for your People to work upon, and other plentiful means to do that withal, which other Nations neither have, nor cannot want, but of necessity must be furnished from hence? And now whereas our Merchandizing is wild, utterly confused, and out of frame, as at large appeareth, a State-Merchant will roundly and effectually bring all the premises to pass, fill your Havens with Ships, those Ships with Mariners, your Kingdom full of Merchants, their Houses full of outlandish Commodities, and your Coffers full of Coin, as in other places they do, and your People shall have just cause to hold in happy memory, that your Majesty was the beginner of so profitable, praiseworthy, and renowned a work, being the true Philosophers Stone to make your Majesty a rich and potent King, and your Subjects happy People, only by settling of a State-Merchant, whereby your People may have fulness of Trade and Manufactory, and yet hold both honourable and profitable Government, without breaking of Companies.

And for that in the settling of so weighty a business, many things of great consequence must necessarily fall into consideration, I humbly pray that your Majesty may be pleased (for the bringing of this great service to light) to give me leave to nominate the Commissioners, and your Majesty to give them power



power to call before them such Men as they shall think fit to confer with upon oath, or otherwise as occasion shall offer; that the said Commissioners with all speed, for the better advancement of this honourable and profitable work, may prepare, and report the same unto your Majesty.

Your Majesties most loyal and true-hearted Subject.

W. Raleigh.

THE

Sir *Walter Raleigh's*

# LETTERS.

*Sir Walter Raleigh's Letter, to Prince Henry.  
touching the Model of a Ship.*

*Most Excellent Prince,*

**I**F the Ship your Highness intends to Build, be bigger than the *Victory*, then her Beams which are laid overthwart from side to side will not serve again, and many other of her Timbers and other stuff, will not serve, whereas if she be a size less, the Timber of the old Ship will serve well to the building of a new.

If she be bigger she will be of less use, go very deep to Water, and of mighty charge, our Channels decaying every Year, less nimble, less mannyable, and seldom to be used. *Grande Navio grande fatica* saith the Spaniard.

A Ship of Six Hundred Tuns will carry as good Ordnance as a Ship of Twelve Hundred Tuns, and where the greater hath double her Ordnance, the less will turn her broadside

broadside twice before the great Ship can wind once, and so no advantage in that overplus of Guns. The Lesser will go over clear, where the greater shall stick and perish; the lesser will come and go, leave or take, and is yare, whereas the greater is slow, unmanmiable, and over full of encumber.

In a well conditioned Ship, these things are chiefly required.

1. That she be strong built.
2. Swift in Sail.
3. Stout-sided.
4. That her Ports be so laid as that she may carry out her Guns all Weathers.
5. That she hull and try well.
6. That she stay well, when Boarding, or turning on a Wind is required.

To make her strong, consisteth in the care and truth of the Work-man; to make her swift, is to give her a large Run or way forward, and so afterward, done by art and just proportion, and that in laying out her bowes before, and quarters behind, the Shipwright be sure that she neither sink nor hang into the Water, but lie clear and above it, wherein Shipwrights do often fail, and then is the speed in Sailing utterly spoiled.

That she be stout-sided, the same is provided by a long bearing floor, and by shading off from above Waters to the lower edge of the Ports, which done, then will she carry out her Ordnance all Weathers.

To

To make her to hull and to try well, which is called a good Sea Ship, there are two things principally to be regarded, the one that she have a good draught of Water, the other that she be not overcharged: And this is seldom done in the Kings Ships, and therefore we are forced to lie, or try in them with our main Course and Mizzen, which with a deep keel and standing streak she would perform.

The extreme length of a Ship makes her unapt to stay, especially if she be floaty, and want sharpness of way forward. And it is most true, that such over long Ships, are fitter for the narrow Seas in Summer, than for the Ocean, or long Voyages: and therefore an Hundred Foot by the Keel, and Thirty Five Foot broad, is a good proportion for a great Ship.

It is to be noted, that all Ships sharp before, not having a long floar, will fall rough into the Sea from a billow, and take in Water over Head and Ears; and the same quality have all narrow quartered Ships to sink after the Tail. The high Charging of Ships, is that that brings many ill qualities, it makes them extreme Lee-ward, makes them sink deep into the Seas, makes them labour sore in foul Weather, and oftentimes overset. Safety is more to be respected than shews, or niceness for ease; in Sea journeys both cannot well stand together, and therefore the most necessary is to be chosen.

Two Decks and an half is enough, and no building at all above that, but a low Masters Cabbin. Our Masters and Mariners will say, that the Ships will bear more well enough; and true it is, if none but ordinary Mariners served in them. But Men of better sort, unused to such a life, cannot so well endure the rowling and tumbling from side to side, where the Seas are never so little grown, which comes by high Charging. Besides, those high Cabbin-works aloft, are very dangerous in fight, to tear Men with their Splinters.

Above all other things, have care that the great Guns be Four Foot clear above Water when all lading is in, or else these best pieces are idle at Sea: for if the Ports lie lower, and be open, it is dangerous; and by that default was a goodly Ship, and many gallant Gentlemen lost, in the days of Henry the Eighth, before the Isle of Wight, in a Ship called by the Name of *Mary-Rose*.

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Sir Walter Raleigh's Letter to Mr. Secretary  
Winwood, before his Journey to Guiana.

Honoured Sir,

**I** Was lately perswaded by two Gentlemen, my ancient Friends, to acquaint your Honour with some offers of mine, made heretofore for a Journey to *Guiana*, who were of opinion, that it would be better understood now, than when it was first propounded, which advice having surmounted my despair, I have presumed to send unto your Honour the Copies of those Letters which I then wrote, both to His Majesty, and to the Treasurer Cecil, wherein as well the reasons that first moved me are remembered, as the Objections by him made, are briefly answered.

What I know of the riches of that place, not by hearsay, but what mine eyes have seen, I have said it often, but it was then to no end: Because those that had the greatest trust, were resolved not to believe it, not because they doubted the truth, but because they doubted my Disposition towards themselves; where (if God had blessed me in the enterprise) I had recovered his Majesties favour and good opinion. Other cause than this, or other suspicion they never had any. Our late worthy Prince of *Wales* was extreme curious in searching out the nature of my Offences. The Queens Majesty hath informed her self from the beginning. The King  
of

of Denmark at both times of his being here was thoroughly satisfied of my innocency, they would otherwise never have moved his Majesty on my behalf.

The Wife, the Brother, and the Son of a King, do not use to sue for Men suspect; but Sir, since they all have done it out of their charity, and but with references to me alone, your Honour (whose respect hath only relation to his Majesty's Service) strengthened by the example of those Princes, may with the more hardness do the like, being Princes to whom his Majesties good estate is no less dear; and all Men that shall oppugn it no less hateful, than to the King himself.

It is true, Sir, That his Majesty hath sometimes answered, that his Counsel knew me better than he did; meaning some two or three of them; and it was indeed my infelicity; for had his Majesty known me, I had never been here where I now am; or had I known his Majesty, they had never been so long there where they now are. His Majesty not knowing of me hath been my ruine, and his Majesty misknowing of them, hath been the ruine of a goodly part of his estate: but they are all of them now, some living and some dying, come to his Majesties knowledge. But Sir, how little soever his Majesty knew me, and how much soever he believed them, yet have I been bound to his Majesty both for my Life, and all that remains, of which, but for his Majesty, nor Life,

Life, nor ought else had remained. In this respect, Sir, I am bound to yield up the same life, and all I have for his Majestie service: To die for the King, and not by the King, is all the ambition I have in the World.

*Walter Raleigh.*

*Sir Walter Raleigh's Letter to his Wife,  
from Guiana.*

*Sweet Heart,*

**I** Can write unto you but with a weak hand, for I have suffered the most violent Calenture for Fifteen days, that ever Man did, and lived: but God that gave me a strong heart in all my adversities, hath also now strengthened it in the Hell-fire of heat.

We have had two most grievous sicknesses in our Ship, of which forty two have died, and there are yet many sick, but having recovered the Land of *Guiana*, this 12th of *November*, I hope we shall recover them. We are yet two hundred Men, and the rest of our Fleet are reasonable strong, strong enough I hope to perform what we have undertaken, if the diligent care at *London* to make our strength known to the *Spanisb* King by his Ambassador, have not taught the *Spanisb* King to fortifie all the enterances against us. Howsoever we must make the adventure, and if we perish it shall be no honour for *England*, nor gain for his Majesty to lose  
among

among many other, an Hundred as valiant Gentlemen as *England* hath in it.

Of Captain *Baylies* base coming from us at the *Canaries*, see a Letter of *Kemisbes* to Mr. *Sony*, and of the unnatural weather, storms, and rains, and winds. He hath in the same Letter given a touch of the way that hath ever been sailed in Fourteen days, now hardly performed in Forty Days. God I trust will give us comfort in that which is to come.

In passage to the *Canaries*, I stayed at *Gamerah*, where I took water in Peace, because the Country durst not deny it me. I received there of an English race, a Present of Oranges, Lemmons, Quinces, and Pomegranates without which I could not have lived: those I preserved in fresh sands, and I have of them yet to my great refreshing. Your Son had never so good health, having no distemper in all the heat under the Line. All my Servants have escaped, but *Crab* and my Cook, yet all have had the Sickness. *Cross* and *March*, and the rest are all well. Remember my service to my Lord *Carew*, and Mr. Secretary *Winwood*.

I write not to them, for I can write of nought but miseries: yet of Men of sort, we have lost our Serjeant Major, Captain *Pigor*, and his Lieutenant, Captain *Edward Hastings*, who would have died at home, for both his Liver, Spleen, and Brains were rotten. My Sons Lieutenant *Payton*, and my Cousin Mr. *Hens*



168 Sir Walter Raleigh's

Hews, Mr. Mordant, Mr. Gardiner, Mr. Hayward, Captain Jenning the Merchant, Remish of London, and the Master Chyrurgeon, Mr. Refiner, Mr. Moor the Governour of the *Barmudas*, our Provost Marshal *William Stead*, Lieutenant *Vescie*, but to mine inestimable grief, *Hammon* and *Talbot*. By the next I trust you shall hear better of us, in Gods hands we were, and in him we trust.

This Bearer, Captain *Allen*, for his infirmity of his Head I have sent back, an honest valiant Man, he can deliver you all that is past. Commend me to my worthy friends at *Lothbury*, Sir *John Leigh* and Mr. *Bower*, whose Nephew *Knewit* is well, and to my Cousin *Blundel*, and my most devoted and humble service to her Majesty.

To tell you that I might be here King of the *Indians*, were a vanity, but my Name hath still lived amongst them; here they feed me with fresh meat, and all that the Country yields, all offer to obey me. Commend me to poor *Carew* my Son.

From *Galliana* in *Guiana*, the fourteenth of November.

Sir



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Sir Walter Raleigh's Letter to Sir Ralph Win-  
wood.

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S I R,

**A**S I have not hitherto given you any Account of our proceedings and passages towards the *Indies*, so have I no other subject to write of, than of the greatest misfortunes that ever befel any Man: for whereas for the first, all those that Navigate between *Cape de Verd* and *America*, do pass it between Fifteen or Twenty days at most, we found the wind so contrary, and (which are also contrary to Nature,) so many storms and rains, as we spent Six weeks in the passage, by reason whereof, and that in so great heat we wanted water: for at the *Isle Prano* off *Cape de Verd*, we lost our Anchors and Cables, and our Water-Casks, being driven from the Island with a *Hurricano*, we were like all to have perished. Great sickness also fell amongst us, and carried away great numbers of our ablest Men both for Sea and Land. The Seventeenth of *November*, we had sight of *Guiana*, and soon after came to Anchor in Five degrees at the River *Galliano*, there we staid till the Fourth of *December*, landed our sick Men, set up the Barges and Shallops,

I

which

which were brought out of *England* in quarters, washed our ships, and took in fresh water, being fed and cherished by the *Indians* of my Old acquaintance, with a great deal of love and respect. My self being in the hands of Death these Six weeks, and was not able otherwise to move, than as I was carried in a Chair, gave order to five small Ships, to sail into *Orinogue*, having Captain *Kemis* for their Conductor towards the Mines, and in those Five Ships, Five Companies of Fifty under the Command of Captain *Parker*, and Captain *North*, Brethren to the Lord *Mountag* and the Lord *North*, valiant Gentlemen, and of infinite patience for the labour, Hunger, and heat which they have endured; my Son had the Third Company; Captain *Thornix* of *Kent* the Fourth Company; Captain *Chidley*, by his Lieutenant, the Fifth: But as my Serjeant Major, Captain *Piggot* of the *Low Countries*, died in the former miserable passage, so now my Lieutenant *Sir Warham S. Leger* lay sick without hope of Life, and the charge conferred on my Nephew *George Raleigh*, who had also served long with infinite Commendations; but by reason of my absence, and of *Sir Warham's*, was not so well obeyed as the Enterprize required. As they passed up the River, the *Spaniards* began the War, and shot at us both with their Ordnance and Muskets, whereupon the Companies were forced to charge them, and soon after beat them out of the Town. In the assault, my Son (more desirous of honour than safety)

was slain, with whom (to say truth) all the respects of this World have taken end in me. And although these Five Captains had as weak Companies as ever followed valiant Leaders, yet were there amongst them some Twenty or Thirty valiant and adventurous Gentlemen, and of singular courage; as of my Sons Company, Mr. Knivet, Mr. Hammon, Mr. Langworth, Mr. John Pleasington; his Officers, Sir John Heydon, Mr. Simon Leak Corporal of the Field, Mr. Hammon the Elder Brother, Mr. Nicholas of Buckingham, Mr. Roberts of Kent, Mr. Perin, Mr. Tresham, Mr. Mollinax, Mr. Winter and his Brother, Mr. Wray, Mr. Miles Herbert, Mr. Bradshaw, Captain Hall, and others.

Sir, I have set down the Names of these Gentlemen, to the end, that if His Majesty shall have cause to use their service: It may please you to take notice of them for very sufficient Gentlemen. The other five Ships staid at *Trinidado*, having no other Port capable of them near *Guiana*. The second Ship was commanded by my Vice-Admiral Captain *John Pennington*, of whom (to do him right) I dare say he is one of the sufficientest Gentlemen for the Sea that *England* hath. The Third by Sir *Warham S. Leiger*, an exceeding valiant and worthy Gentleman. The Fourth by Sir *John Fern*: The Fifth by Captain *Chidley* of *Devon*, With these Five Ships I daily attended their Armado of *Spain*, which had they set upon us, our force divided, the one half in *Orinoque*, an Hundred and Fifty  
I 2 Miles

Miles from us, we had not only been torn in pieces, but all those in the River had also perished, being of no force at all for the Sea-fight; for we had resolved to have been burnt by their sides, had the Armado arrived, but belike they staid for us at *Margarita*, by which they knew we must pass towards the *Indies*, for it pleased his Majesty to value us at so little, as to command me upon my Allegiance, to set down under my hand the Country, and the very River by which I was to enter it, to set down the number of my Men, and burthen of my Ships, and what Ordnance every Ship carried, which being known to the *Spanish* Ambassador, and by him sent to the King of *Spain*, a dispatch was made, and Letters sent from *Madrid*, before my departure out of the *Thames*, for his first Letter sent by a Barque of Advice, was dated the 19 of *March* 1617 at *Madrid*, which Letter I have here inclosed sent to your Honour, the rest I reserve, not knowing whether they may be intercepted or not. The Second by the King dated the Second of *May*, sent also by a Colonel of *Diego de Palomege*, Governor of *Guiana*, *Elderedo*, and *Trinidado*. The Third by the Bishop of *Portoriche*, and delivered to *Palomege* the 15 of *July*, at *Trinidado*. And the Fourth was sent from the Farmer and Secretary of his Customs in the *Indies*. At the same time, by that of the Kings hand, sent by the Bishop, there was also a Commission for the speedy levying of Three Hundred Soldiers, and Ten Pieces



Pieces of Ordnance to be sent from *Porterich*, for the defence of *Guiana*, an Hundred and Fifty from *Nueva Remo de Granado*, under the Command of Captain *Anthony Muscat*, and the other Hundred and Fifty from *Porterich*, to be conducted by Captain *Fran: Laelio*.

Now Sir, if all that have traded to the *Indies* since His Majesties time knew that the *Spaniards* have slayed alive all the poor Men which they have taken, being but Merchantmen, what Death and cruel Torment shall we expect if they conquer us? Certainly they have hitherto failed grossly, we being set out thence as we were, and discovered, both for Number, Time, and Place.

Lastly, to make an Apology for not working the Mine (although I know his Majesty whom I am to satisfy, expects not so much at my Hands) my self, having lost my Son, and my Estate in the Enterprize, yet it is true that the *Spaniards* took more care to defend the passage leading unto it, than they did for the Town, which by the King's Instructions they might easily do, the Countries being *Aspera & Nemerosa*.

But it is true, that when Captain *Kemish* found the River low, and that he could not approach the Banks in most places near the Mine by a mile, and when he found a descent, a Volley of Shot came from the Woods upon the Boat, and slew Two Rowers, and hurt Six others, and shot a valiant Gentleman, Captain *Thornix*, of which Wound  
I 3 he



he languisheth to this day. He, to wit, *Kemish*, following his own Advice, thought that it was in vain to discover the Mine, for he gave me this for an excuse at his Return, that the Companies of *English* in the Town of *St. Thome* were not able to defend it, against the daily and nightly Assaults of the *Spaniards*, that the Passages to the Mines were of thick and unpassable Woods, and that the Mine being discovered, they had no Men to work it, and therefore he did not discover it at all: For it is true, the *Spaniards* having Two Gold Mines near the Town, the one possessed by *Pedro Rodrigo de Parava*, the Second by *Hermian Frassin*, the Third of Silver, by Captain *Francisco*, they all lay still for want of *Negroes* to work them; for as the *Indians* cannot be constrained by a Law of *Charles* the Fifth, so the *Spaniards* will not, nor can endure the Labour of these Mines, whatsoever the *Bragadochio*, the *Spanish* Ambassador saith. As I shall prove under the Proprietors hand, by the Custom-book, and the Kings Quinto, of which I received an Ingot or Two: I shall also make it appear to any Prince or State that will undertake it, how easily those Mines and Five or Six more of them may be possessed, and the most of them in those Parts, which never as yet have been attempted by any, nor any Passage to them ever discovered by the *English*, *French*, or *Dutch*. But at *Kemish* his Return from *Oronoque*, when I rejected his Counsel and his Course, and told

told him that he had undone me, and wounded my Credit with the King past recovery; he slew himself: For I told him, that seeing my Son was slain, I cared not if I had lost an Hundred more in opening of the Mine, so my Credit had been saved: For I protest before God, had not Captain *Whitney* (to whom I gave more Countenance than to all the Captains of my Fleet) run from me at the *Granadoes*, and carried another Ship with him of Captain *Wolleston's*, I would have left my Body at *St. Thomas* by my Sons, or have brought with me out of that or other Mines, so much Gold-Oar, as should have satisfied the King. I propounded no vain thing; what shall become of me I know not; I am unpardoned in *England*, and my poor Estate consumed, and whether any Prince will give me Bread or no, I know not. I desire your Honour to hold me in your good opinion, to remember my Service to my Lords of *Arundel* and *Pembroke*, to take some Pity on my poor Wife, to whom I dare not write for renewing her sorrow for her Son; and beseech you to give a Copy of this to my Lord *Carew*: For to a broken Mind, a sick Body, and weak Eyes, it is a Torment to write many Letters. I have found many things of importance for discovering the state and weakness of the *Indies*, which, if I live, I shall hereafter impart unto your Honour, to whom I shall remain a Faithful Servant.

Walter Raleigh.

Sir.

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*Sir Walter Raleigh's Letter sent to his Wife,  
Copied out of his own Hand-writing.*

I Was loath to write, because I know not how to comfort you, and God knows, I never knew what Sorrow meant till now. All that I can say to you is, that you must obey the will and providence of God, and remember, that the Queens Majesty bare the loss of Prince Henry with a magnanimous Heart, and the Lady Harrington of her only Son. Comfort your Heart (dearest Wife) I shall sorrow for us both, and I shall sorrow the less, because I have not long to sorrow, because not long to live. I refer you to Mr. Secretary Winwood's Letter, who will give you a Copy of it, if you send for it, therein you shall know what hath passed; which I have written by that Letter, for my Brains are broken, and it is a Torment to me to write, especially of Misery. I have desired Mr. Secretary to give my Lord Carew a Copy of his Letter. I have cleansed my Ship of sick Men, and sent them home: and hope that God will send us somewhat before we return; commend me to all at Lashbury: You shall hear from me, if I live, from New-found-land, where I mean to clean my Ships and revictual; for I have Tobacco enough to pay for it. The Lord bless  
and

and comfort you, that you may bear patiently the Death of your most valiant Son.

This 22. of March, From the Isle of Christophers, yours

Walter Raleigh.

Post-script.

I protest before the Majesty of God, that as Sir Francis Drake, and Sir John Hawkins died heart broken when they failed of their Enterprize, I could willingly do the like, did I not contend against Sorrow for your sake, in hope to provide somewhat for you, to comfort and relieve you. If I live to return, resolve your self that it is the Care for you that hath strengthened my Heart. It is true, that Kemish might have gone directly to the Mine, and meant it, but after my Sons Death, he made them believe that he knew not the way, and excused himself upon the want of Water in the River, and counterfeiting many impediments, left it unfound. When he came back, I told him he had undone me, and that my Credit was lost for ever; he answered, That when my Son was lost, and that he left me so weak, that he thought not to find me alive, he had no reason to enrich a Company of Rascals, who after my Sons Death made no account of him. He further told me that the English sent up into Guiana, could hardly defend the Spanish Town of St. Thome which they had taken, and therefore for them to pass through thick



Woods, it was impossible; and more impossible to have Victuals brought them into the Mountains. And it is true that the Governour *Diego Palomeque*, and other 4 Captains being slain, whereof my Son *Wat* slew one, *Plessington*, *Wat's* Serjeant, and *John of Narcoes*, one of his Men, slew Two. I saw Five of them slain in the Entrance of the Town, the rest went off in a whole Body, and each took more care to defend the Passages to their Mines (of which they had Three within a League of the Town, besides a Mine that was about Five Miles off) than they did of the Town itself. Yet *Kemish* at the first was resolved to go to the Mine; but when he came to the Bank-side to Land, he had Two of his Men slain out-right from the Bank, and Six others hurt, and Captain *Thornix* shot in the Head, of which Wound, and the accident thereof, he hath pined away these 12 Weeks.

Now when *Kemish* came back and gave me the former Reasons which moved him not to open the Mine, the one the Death of my Son, a Second the weakness of the *English*, and their impossibilities to work it and to be victualled, a Third that it were a folly to discover it for the *Spaniards*; and lastly, my Weakness, and being unpardoned; and that I rejected all these his Arguments, and told him, that I must leave him to himself to answer it to the King and State, he shut himself into his Cabbin, and shot himself with a Pocket Pistol, which broke one of his Ribs,  
and



and finding that he had not prevailed, he thrust a long Knife under his short ribs up to the Handle, and Dyed. Thus much I have written to Mr. Secretary, to whose Letters I refer you; but because I think my Friends, will rather hearken after you than any other to know the truth. I did after the Sealing break open the Letter again, to let you know in brief the state of that business, which I pray you impart to my Lord of *Northumberland*, and *Silvanus Scoria*, and to Sir John Leigh.

For the rest, there was never poor Man so exposed to the slaughter as I was; for being commanded upon mine Allegiance to set down not only the Country, but the very River by which I was to enter it, to name my Ships Number, Men, and my Arrillery. This was sent by the *Spanish* Ambassador to his Master the King of Spain. The King wrote his Letters to all parts of the *Indies*, especially to the Governor *Palameque* of *Guiana*, *Elderado*, and *Trinidad*; of which the first Letter bore Date 19 of *March* 1617. at *Madrid*, when I had not yet left the *Thames*, which Letter I have sent to Mr. Secretary. I have also Two other Letters of the Kings which I reserve, and one of the Councils. The King also sent a Commission to levy Three Hundred Soldiers out of his Garisons of *nuevo Regno de Granada & parte de* with Ten pieces of Brass Ordnance to entertain us; he also prepared an *Armado* by Sea to set upon us. It were too long to tell you how

we

we were preserved, if I live I shall make it known; my brains are broken, and I cannot write much, I live yet, and I told you why. *Witney* for whom I sold all my Plate at *Plymouth*, and to whom I gave more credit and countenance than to all the Captains of my Fleet, ran from me at the *Granadoes*, and *Woolenston* with him, so as I have now but Five Ships, and one of those I have sent home, and in my Fly-boat, a rabble of idle Rascals, which I know will not spare to wound me, but I care not. I am sure there is never a base slave in all the Fleet hath taken the pains and care that I have done, that hath slept so little, and travelled so much, my Friends will not believe them; and for the rest I care not; God in heaven bless you and strengthen your heart.

Yours

Walter Raleigh.

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Sir Walter Raleigh's Letter to Mr. Secretary  
Winwood.

S I R,

Since the Death of *Kemish*, it is confessed by the Serjeant Major, and others of his inward Friends, that he told them that he could have brought them unto the Mine within two Hours March from the River side;

side; but because my Son was slain, my self unpardoned, and not like to live, he had no reason to open the Mine either for the Spaniard, or for the King; they answered, that the King (though I were not pardoned) had granted me my hearts desire under the Great Seal. He replyed that the grant to me was to a Man, *non Ens* in the Law, and therefore of no force; this discourse they had, which I knew not of till after his Death: but when I was resolved to write unto your Honour, he pray'd me to join with him in excusing his not going to the Mine, I answered him I would not do it; but if my self could satisfie the King and State, that he had reason not to open it, I should be glad of it: but for my part, I must avow that he knew it, and that he might without loss have done it; other excuses I would not frame: he told me that he would wait on me presently, and give me better satisfaction: but I was no sooner come from him into my Cabin, but I heard a Pistol go off over my head, and sending to know who shot it, word was brought me that *Kemish* shot it out of his Cabbin window to cleanse it; and his boy going into his Cabbin, found him lying upon his bed with much Blood by him, and looking in his Face saw him Dead; the Pistol being but little, did but crack his Rib, but turning him over, he found a long Knife in his body, all but the handle. Sir, I have sent into *England* with my Cousen *Herbert* (a very valiant honest Gentleman) divers unworthy Persons, good for nothing neither  
by

by Sea nor Land, and though it was at their own suit, yet I know they will wrong me in all that they can. I beseech your Honour, that the scum of Men may not be believed of me, who have taken more pains, and suffered more than the meanest Rascal in the Ship; these being gone, I shall be able to keep the Sea until the end of *August*, with some Four reasonable good Ships. Sir, wheresoever God shall permit me to arrive in any part of *Europe*, I will not fail to let your Honour know what we have done, till then, and ever I remain.

Your Honours

Servant

*Walter Raleigh.*

Sir

Sir Walter Raleigh's

Letter to

King James.

at his Return from

GUIANA

May it Please Your Most Excellent MAJESTY.

IF in my Journey outward bound I had my Men Murthered at the Islands, and yet spared to take revenge, if I did discharge some Spanish Barks taken without spoil, if I forbear all parts of the Spanish Indies, wherein I might have taken Twenty of their Towns on the Sea Coasts, and did only follow the enterprize I undertook for Guiana; where without any directions from me, a Spanish Village was burnt which was new set up within 3 miles of the Mine, by your Majesties favour, I find no reason why the Spanish Ambassador should complain of me. If it were lawful for the Spaniards to Murther so English Men tying them back to back, and then



then cutting their Throats, when they had traded with them a whole Month, and came to them on the Land, without so much as one sword, and that it may not be lawful to your Majesty's Subjects being charged first by them, to repel force by force; we may justly say, O Miserable English!

If *Parker* and *Metham* took *Campesach* and other places in the *Honduras*, seated in the heart of the *Spanish Indies*, burnt Towns, and killed the *Spaniards*, and had nothing said unto them at their return, and my self forbore to look into the *Indies*, because I would not offend, I may as justly say, O miserable Sir *Walter Raleigh*!

If I have spent my poor Estate, lost my Son, suffered by Sickness and otherwise a World of Miseries; if I have resisted with manifest hazard of my life the Robberies and Spoils, with which my Companions would have made me rich; If when I was poor, I could have made my self rich, if when I had gotten my liberty, which all Men and nature it self do much prize, I voluntarily lost it, if when I was sure of my life, I rendred it again, if I might elsewhere have sold my Ship and Goods. and put Five or Six Thousand pounds in my purse, and yet brought her into *England*, I beseech your Majesty to believe, that all this I have done, because it should not be said to your Majesty, that your Majesty had given Liberty & Trust to a Man, whose end was but the recovery of his Liberty, and who had betrayed your Majesty's Trust.

My

My Mutiniers told me, that if I returned for England, I should be undone, but I believed in Your Majesty's Goodness, more than in all their Arguments. Sure, I am the first that being free and able to enrich my self; yet hath embraced Poverty and Peril. And as sure I am, that my Example shall make me the last: But Your Majesty's Wisdom and Goodness I have made my Judges, who have ever been, and shall ever be,

Your Majesty's

most humble Vassal

Walter Raleigh.

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*Sir Walter Raleigh's Letter to His Majesty before  
his Trial at Winchester, Anno Dom. 1603.*

**I**T is one part of the Office of a just and worthy Prince, to hear the Complaints of his Vassals, especially such as are in great Misery. I know that amongst many Presumptions gathered against me, Your Majesty hath been perswaded, that I was one of them who were greatly discontented; and therefore the more likely to prove disloyal; but the great God of Heaven and Earth, so relieve me as I was the contrary; and I took it as a great Comfort to behold Your Majesty,

Majesty, always learning some good, and  
 bettering my Knowledge, by hearing Your  
 Majesty discourse; and do most humbly be-  
 seech Your Majesty not to believe any of  
 those, in my particular, who under pretence  
 of Offences to Kings, do easily work their par-  
 ticular Revenge, (I trust) no Man under colour  
 of making Examples, shall perswade you to  
 leave the Word *merciful* out of your Majesty's  
 Style; for it will no less profit Your Ma-  
 jesty, and become Your Greatness, than the  
 word *invincible*. It is true that the Laws of  
*England*, are no less jealous of the King, than  
*Cesar* was of *Pompey's* Wife; who notwith-  
 standing she was cleared for keeping Com-  
 pany with *Claudius*, yet for being suspected,  
 he condemned her: For my self, I protest  
 before the everlasting God, (and I speak it to  
 my Master and Sovereign) that I never in-  
 vented Treason, consented to Treason, nor  
 performed Treason against you; and yet I  
 know I shall fall *in manus eorum a quibus non*  
*possum evadere*, unless by Your Majesty's gra-  
 cious Compassion I be sustained. Our Law  
 (therefore most merciful Prince) knowing  
 her own Cruelty, and knowing that she is  
 wont to compound Treasons out of Pre-  
 sumptions and Circumstances, doth give this  
 charitable Advice to the King her Supreme:  
*Non solum sapiens esset Rex, sed & misericors, ut cum*  
*sapientia misericordetur, & sit justus; cum tutius*  
*sit reddere rationem Misericordiae quam Judicii.*  
 I do therefore on the Knees of my Heart,  
 beseech Your Majesty to take Counsel from  
 your

your own sweet and comfortable Disposition, and to remember that I have loved Your Majesty 20 Years, for which Your Majesty has given me no Reward, and it is fitter that I should be indebted to my Sovereign Lord than the King to his poor Vassal. Save me therefore (most merciful Prince) that I may owe Your Majesty my Life itself, than which there cannot be a greater Debt; lend it me at least (my Sovereign Lord) that I may pay it in your Service, when Your Majesty shall please to command it. If the Law destroy me, Your Majesty shall put me out of your Power, and then I shall have none to Fear, none to Reverence but the King of Kings.

*Your Majesty's most humble Vassal*

Walter Raleigh.

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*The Copy of a Letter written by Sir Walter Raleigh, to the Earls of Southampton, Suffolk, and Devonshire, and to the Lord Cecill, declaring his Innocency in the Two points where-with he was charged, as in point of Treason, the 14th of August 1603.*

I Do not know whether Your Lordships have seen my Answers to all the matters which my Lord Henry Howard, my Lord Wotton, and Sir Edward Cooke have examined me on, upon Saturday the 14th of this Present,



sent, which makes me bold to write unto Your Lordships at this time; the Two principal Accusations being these. The first, That Money was offered me, with a Pretence to maintain the Amity; but the intent was to have assisted His Majesty's surprize. The other, That I was privy to my Lord *Cobham's Spanish Journey*. For the first: I beseech Your Lordships to weigh it seriously, before there be any farther Proceeding: For to leave me to the Cruelty of the Law of *England*, and to that *summum Jus*; before both your Understandings and Consciences be thorowly informed, were but carelessly to destroy the Father and Fatherless; and you may be assured, that there is no Glory, nor any Reward that can recompence the shedding of innocent Blood. And whereas it seemeth to appear, that this Money was offered to others, long after it was offered to me, and upon some other Considerations than it was unto me: For my self, I avow upon my Allegiance, that I never either knew or suspected, either the Man or the new Intention. To me it was but once propounded; and in Three Weeks after, I never heard more of it; neither did I believe it, that he had any Commission to offer it, as the everlasting God doth witness. For, if that Word (*Amity*) had been used to me colourably, I must have been also made acquainted, with the true end for which it should have been given; which it seemeth was for the Surprize. But  
of



of any such horrible and fearful purpose, if ever I had so much as a suspicion, I refuse Your Lordships Favours, and the King's Mercy. I know that Your Lordships have omitted nothing to find out the truth hereof. But as you have not erred, like ill Surgeons to lay on Plaisters too narrow for so great Wounds; so I trust that you will not imitate unlearned Physicians, to give Med'cines more cruel than the Disease it self.

For the Journey into *Spain*, I know that I was accused to be privy thereunto: But I know your Lordships have a Reputation of Conscience as well as of Industry. By what means that revengeful Accusation was stirred, you, my Lord *Cecill*, know right well, that it was my Letter about *Kemish*; and your Lordships all know whether it be maintained, or whether out of truth, and out of a Christian consideration it be revoked. I know that to have spoken it once is enough for the Law, if we lived under a Cruel Prince; but I know that the King is too merciful to have or suffer his Subjects to be ruined by any quick or unchristian advantage, unless he be resolved or can persuade his religious Heart of the Equiry: I know that the King thinks (with all good Princes) *satius est peccare in alteram partem*; God doth know, and I can give an account of it, that I have spent Forty Thousand Pounds of mine own against that King and Nation; that I never reserved so much of all my Fortunes

tunes as to purchase 40 l. per Ann. Land; that I have been a violent Persecutor and furtherer of all Enterprizes against that Nation, I have served against them in Person; and how my Lord Admiral, and my Lord of Suffolk can witness. I discovered my self the richest Part of all his *Indies*. I have planted in his Territories. I offered his Majesty at my Uncle *Carew's*, to carry Two Thousand Men to invade him without the King's charge. Alas! to what end should we live in the World, if all the endeavours of so many Testimonies shall be blown off with one Blast of Breath, or be presented by one Man's Word; and in this time when we have a generous Prince, from whom to purchase Honour and good Opinion, I had no other hope but by undertaking upon that cruel and insolent Nation. Think therefore, I most humbly beseech you, on my great Affliction with Compassion, who have lost my Estate, and the King's Favour, upon one Man's Word, and as you would that God should deal with you, deal with me: You all know that the Law of *England* hath need of a Merciful Prince, and if you put me to shame, you take from me all hope ever to receive his Majesty's least Grace again. I beseech you to be resolved of those things of which I am accused, and distinguish me from others. As you have true Honour, and as you would your selves be used in the like. Forget all particular Mistakes, *multis*

*Clementia*

*Clementia honestavit, Ultio nullum.* Your Lordships know that I am guiltless of the Surprise intended. Your Lordships know, or may know that I never accepted of the Money, and that it was not offered me for any ill, and of the *Spanish* Journey, I trust your Consciences are resolved. Keep not then I beseech you, these my Answers and humble Desires, from my Sovereign Lord, *qui est Rex pius & misericors, & non Leo coramatus.* Thus humbly beseeching Your Lordships to have a merciful Regard of me, I rest,

*Your Lordships humble and  
miserable Suppliant,*

Walter Raleigh.

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*Sir Walter Raleigh's Letter to the King after  
his Condemnation at Winchester, 1603.*

THE Life which I had (most mighty Prince) the Law hath taken from me; and I am now but the same Earth and Dust, out of which I was first framed, if my Offences had any proportion with your Majesty's Mercy I should not despair; or if my Crime had any quantity with your Majesty's unmeasurable goodness. I might yet have hope; but it is your great Majesty that must judge of both, and not I. Blood, Name, Gentry or Estate, have I (now) none,

no

no not so much as a Being, no not so much as *Vita Plantæ*. I have only a Penitent Sou in a Body of Iron, which moveth towards the Loadstone of Death, and cannot be withheld from touching it, except your Majesty's Mercy turn the point towards me which expelleth; lost I am, for hearing a vain Man, for hearing only, and never believing or approving, and so little account I made of that Speech of his, which was my Condemnation, (as the Living God doth truly witness) that I never remembered any such thing, till it was at my Tryal objected against me. So did he repay my Care, who cared to make him good, which (now too late) see no Care of Man can Effect. But God (for mine Offences towards him) hath laid this heavy Burthen upon me, miserable and unfortunate Wretch that I am; but not for loving you (my Sovereign) hath God laid this Sorow on me: For he knoweth (with whom I may not dissemble) that I honoured your Majesty by Fame, and loved and admired you by Knowledge, so whether I Live or Dye, your Majesty's True and Loving Servant, and Loyal Subject I will live and Dye. If I now write what doth not become me (most merciful Prince) vouchsafe to ascribe it to the Counsel of a Dead Heart, and to a Mind which Sorow hath broken and confounded; but the more my Misery is, the more is your Majesty's Mercy if you please to behold it; and the less I can deserve, the more liberal your Majesty's Gift shall be. God only shall Imitate

imitate your Majesty herein, both in giving freely, and by giving to such a one as from whom there can be no Retribution, but only a Deigne to repay a lent Life, with the same great Love, which the same great Goodness shall please to bestow it. This being the first Letter that ever your Majesty received from a Dead Man, I humbly submit my self to the will of my Supreme Lord, and shall willingly and patiently suffer whatsoever it shall please your Majesty to impose upon me.

Walter Raleigh.

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*The Copy of a Letter Written by Sir Walter Raleigh to his Wife the Night before he expected to be put to Death, at Winchester. 1603.*

**Y**OU shall now receive (my dear Wife) my last Words in these my last Lines. My love I send you, that you may keep it when I am Dead, and my Counsel, that you may remember it when I am no more. I would not, by my will, present you with sorrows (dear Bess,) let them go into the Grave with me, and be buried in the Dust: And seeing it is not the will of God, that ever I shall see you more in this Life; bear it patiently and with a Heart like thy self.

First, I send you all the thanks which my Heart can conceive, or my Words can express, for your many Travels, and care taken for me; which though they have not taken effect



194 Sir Walter Raleigh's

effect as you wished, yet my Debt to you is not the less; but pay it I never shall in this World.

Secondly, I beseech you, for the Love you bear me Living, do not hide your self many Days after my Death, but by your Travels seek to help your miserable Fortune and the right of your poor Child: Thine Mourning cannot avail me, I am but Dead.

Thirdly, You shall understand, that my Land was conveyed (*bona fide*) to my Child: the Writings were drawn at Midsummer was Twelve Months; my honest Cozen Brett can testifie so much, and Dalberie too can remember somewhat therein: And I trust my Blood will quench their Malice that have thus cruelly murdered me; and that they will not seek also to kill thee, and thin thee with extream Poverty. To what Friend I direct thee I know not, for all mine have left me in the true time of Tryal: And I plainly perceive that my Death was determined from the first Day; most sorry I am, (God knows) that being thus surprized with Death I can leave you in no better Estate: God be my Witness I meant you all my Office of Wines, or all that I could have purchased by selling it; half my Stuff and all my Jewels, but some one for the Boy; but God hath prevented all my Resolutions, even that Great God that ruleth all in all: But if you can live free from want, care for no more, the rest is but vanity, love God, and begin betimes to repose your self on him; and therein

therein shall you find true and lasting Riches,  
and endless Comfort. For the rest, when  
you have travelled and wearied your  
Thoughts over all sorts of worldly Cogita-  
tion, you shall but sit down by Sorrow in  
the end. Teach your Son also to love and  
fear God, whilst he is yet young, that the  
fear of God may grow up with him; and  
then God will be a Husband to you, and a  
Father to him; a Husband and a Father which  
cannot be taken from you. Bayly oweth me  
200 l. and *Adrian Gilbert* 600 l. In *Jersey* also  
I have much Money owing me; besides, the  
Arrearages of the Wines will pay my Debts;  
and howsoever you do, for my Souls sake  
pay all poor Men. When I am gone, no  
doubt you shall be sought to by many, for  
the World thinks that I was very Rich: But  
take heed of the Pretences of Men, and their  
Affections; for they last not, but in honest  
and worthy Men; and no greater Misery can  
befall you in this Life, than to become a  
Prey, and afterwards to be despised. I speak  
not this (God knows) to dissuade you from  
Marriage; for it will be best for you, both  
in respect of the World and of God. As for  
me, I am no more yours, nor you mine:  
Death has cut us asunder; and God hath di-  
vided me from the World, and you from me.

Remember your poor Child, for his Fa-  
ther's sake; who chose you and loved you in  
his happiest Time. Get those Letters (if it  
be possible) which I writ to the Lords,  
wherein I sued for my Life. God is my

## 196 Sir Walter Raleigh's Letters.

Witness, it was for you and yours that I de-  
 fired Life : But it is true that I disdain my  
 self for begging it, for know it (Dear Wife)  
 that your Son is the Son of a true Man, and  
 one who in his own respect despiseth Death  
 and all his mishapen and ugly Forms. I can-  
 not write much; God he knoweth how hardly  
 I steal this Time, while others sleep; and it  
 is also high time that I should separate my  
 Thoughts from the World. Beg my dear  
 Body, which living was denied thee; and  
 either lay it at *Shirburne* (if the Land conti-  
 nue) or in *Exeter Church* by my Father and  
 Mother; I can say no more, Time and Death  
 call me away.

The Everlasting, Powerful, Infinite and  
 Omnipotent God; that Almighty God, who  
 is Goodness it self; the true Life and true  
 Light keep thee and thine, have Mercy on  
 me, and teach me to forgive my Persecutors  
 and Accusers, and send us to meet in his  
 glorious Kingdom. My dear Wife, fare-  
 wel, bless my poor Boy, pray for me, and  
 let my good God hold you both in his  
 Arms.

*Written with the dying Hand of sometime thy  
 Husband, but now (alas) overthrown,*

*Tours that was but now not my own,*

Walter Raleigh.

Sir

Sir Walter Raleigh's  
PILGRIMAGE.

**G**ive me my Scallop shell of Quier,  
My Staff of Faith to walk upon;  
My Scrip of Joy immortal Diet;  
My Bottle of Salvation.

My Gown of Glory, (Hopes true gage)  
And thus I'll take my Pilgrimage.  
Blood must be my Bodies only Balmer,  
No other Balm will there be given,  
Whilst my Soul like a quiet Palmer,  
Travelleth towards the Land of Heaven,  
Over the Silver Mountains,  
Where springs the Nectar Fountains,  
There will I kiss the Bowl of Bliss,  
And drink mine everlasting fill  
Upon every Milken Hill.

My Soul will be a-dry before,  
But after, it will thirst no more.  
I'll take them first, to quench my thirst,

And taste of Nectars suckers,  
At those clear Wells

Where sweetness dwells,

Drawn up by Saints in Crystal Buckets.



# 198 Sir Walter Raleigh's Verses.

Then by that happy bleſſful day,  
 More peaceful Pilgrims I ſhall ſee,  
 That have caſt off their rags of clay,  
 And walk apparelled freſh like me,  
 And when our Bottles and all we  
 Are fill'd with Immortality,  
 Then the bleſſed Parts we'll travel,  
 Strow'd with Rubies thick as gravel,  
 Cielings of Diamonds, Sapphire Flowers,  
 High Walls of Coral, and Pearly Bowers.  
 From thence to Heavens bribeleſſ Hall,  
 Where no corrupted voices brawl,  
 No Conſcience molten into Gold,  
 No forg'd Accuſer bought or ſold,  
 No Cauſe deferr'd, no vain ſpent Journey,  
 For there CHRIST is the KING's Attorney,  
 Who pleads for all without degrees,  
 And he hath Angels, but no Fees:  
 And when the twelve grand Million Jury  
 Of our ſins, with direful fury,  
 Gainſt our Souls black Verdicts give,  
 Chriſt pleads his Death, and then we live.  
 Be thou my Speaker, [taintleſſ Pleader,  
 Unblotted Lawyer, true Proceeder,]  
 Thou wouldſt Salvation even for Alms,  
 Not with a bribed Lawyers Palms.  
 And this is mine eternal Plea,  
 To him that made Heaven, Earth and Sea,  
 That ſince my Fleſh muſt die ſo ſoon,  
 And want a Head to dine next Noon,  
 Juſt at the ſtroke, when my Veins ſtart and ſpread,  
 Set on my Soul an everlaſting Head.  
 Then am I ready, like a Palmer fit,  
 To tread thoſe bleſt Paths which before I writ.



## Sir Walter Raleigh's Verses. 199

Of Death and Judgment, Heaven and Hell;  
Who oft doth think, must needs die well.

---

Sir Walter Raleigh's Verses found in his Bible  
in the Gatehouse at Westminster.

**E**ven such is Time, which takes in trust  
Our Youth, our Jays, and all we have,  
And pays us nought but Age and Dust,  
Which in the dark and silent Grave,  
When we have wandred all our ways,  
Sets up the story of our days:  
And from which Grave, and Earth, and Dust,  
The Lord shall raise me up I trust.

---

Sir Walter Raleigh on the Snuff of a Candle  
the Night before he died.

**C**owards fear to die; but Courage stout,  
Rather than live in snuff, will be put out.

K 4

Sir

Sir *Walter Raleigh's*  
**S P E E C H**

*Immediately before he was Beheaded.*

**U**Pon *Simon and Judas* day 1618, the Lieutenant of the Tower had a Warrant sent him to bring Sir *Walter Raleigh* his Prisoner to the Kings Bench in *Westminster-Hall*, where the Attorney-General demanded Execution, according to the Judgment pronounced against him at *Winchester*. The Lord Chief Justice caused the Indictment, Verdict, and Judgment to be read, and after asked him, What he could say, Why he should not die according to the Law? His answer was, That this Fifteen years he had lived by the meer Mercy of the King, and did now wonder how his Mercy was turned into Justice, he not knowing anything wherein he had provoked his Majesties displeasure, and did hope, that he was clear from that Judgment by the Kings Commission in making him General of the Voyage to *Guiana*, for (as he conceived) the Words, *To his trusty*  
*and*

## Sir Walter Raleigh's Speech. 101

and well beloved Subject, &c. did in themselves imply a Pardon. But Master Attorney told him, these words were not sufficient for that purpose. Whereupon he desired the opinion of the Court; to which the Lord Chief Justice replied, It was no Pardon in Law.

Then began Sir Walter Raleigh to make a long description of the Events and Ends of his Voyage; but he was interrupted by the Chief Justice, who told him, That it was not for any Offence committed there, but for his first fact that he was now called in question, and thereupon told him, That seeing he must prepare to die, he would not add affliction to affliction, nor aggravate his fault, knowing him to be a Man full of Misery, but with the good Samaritan administer Oyl and Wine for the comfort of his distressed Soul. You have been a General, and a great Commander, imitate therefore that Noble Captain, who thrusting himself into the midst of a Battel, cryed aloud, *Mors me expectat, & Ego Mortem expectabo*, as you should not contemn so to do, nor should you fear death, the one sheweth too much boldness, the other no less cowardize. So with some other few Instructions the Court arose, and Sir Walter was committed into the hands of the Sheriff of Middlesex, who presently conveyed him to the Gatehouse in Westminster.

Upon Thursday the 29th of October, 1619. Sir Walter Raleigh was Conveyed by the Sheriffs of London, to a Scaffold in the Old Palace.

202 Sir Walter Raleigh's Speech.

at Westminster, where he was Executed about Nine of the Clock in the Morning of the same Day: Whose confession and several Speeches there delivered, with his Gesture and Behaviour, were as follows.

His first appearance upon the Scaffold, was with a smiling Countenance, saluting the Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, with others of his Acquaintance there present; when after a Proclamation of Silence by an Officer appointed, he addressed himself to Speak in this manner.

*I desire to be born without, because this is the Third day of my Fever: And if I shew any weakness, I beseech you to attribute it to my Malady, for this is the Hour I look for it.*

Then pausing a while, directing himself towards a Window, where the Lord of Arundel, and the Lord of Doncaster, with some other Lords and Knights sat, with a loud Voice he said as followeth.

*I thank God of his Infinite Goodness, that he hath sent me to Die in the sight of so Honourable an Assembly, and not in Darkness. But by reason the place where they sat, was some distance from the Scaffold, that they could not easily hear him, he said: I will strain my self, for I would willingly have your Honours hear me. The Lord of Arundel answered, We will come upon the Scaffold; where after he had Saluted every one of them severally, he began as followeth.*

*As I said, I thank my God heartily, that he hath brought me into the Light to Die, and hath*

## Sir Walter Raleigh's Speech. 203

me suffered me to Die in the dark Prison of the Tower, where I have suffered a great deal of Austerity, and a long Sickness; and I thank God that my fever hath not taken me at this time, as I pray'd God it might not.

There are two main Points of Suspicion, that his Majesty hath conceived against me, and wherein his Majesty cannot be satisfied, which I desire to clear and resolve you off:

One is that his Majesty hath been informed that I have had some Plot with France, and his Majesty had some Reason to induce him thereto. One Reason that his Majesty had to conjecture so, was, that when I came back from Guiana being come to Plymouth, I endeavoured to go to Rochel; which was because I would fain have made my Peace before I came to England. Another Reason was that upon my Flight, I did intend to Fly to France for saving of my Life having had some Terror from above. A Third Reason was the French Agent's coming to me, and it was Reported that I had Commission from the King of France.

But this I say, for a Man to call God to Witness to a Falshood at any time is a grievous sin, and what shall he hope for at the Tribunal Day of Judgment? But to call God to Witness to a Falshood at the time of Death, is far more grievous and impious, and there is no hope for such an one. And what should I expect that am now going to render an Account of my Faith? I do therefore call the Lord to Witness, as I hope to be saved, and as I hope to see Him in his Kingdom, which I hope will be within this quarter of this Hour;



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Hour; I never had any Commission from the King of France, nor any Treaty with the French Agent, nor with any from the French King; neither knew I that there was an Agent, or what he was, till I met him in my Gallery at my Lodging unlooked for. If I speak not true, O Lord, let me never come into thy Kingdom.

The Second Suspicion was, that his Majesty hath been Informed, that I should speak Dishonourably and Disloyally of him. But my Accuser was a base Frenchman, a kind of a Chymical Fellow, one whom I knew to be Perfidious; for being drawn into this Action at Winchester, in which my Hand was toucht, and he being sworn to secrecy over Night, revealed it in the Morning.

But in this I speak now, what have I to do with Kings? I have nothing to do with them, neither do I fear them: I have now to do with God, therefore to tell a Lye now to get the Favour of the King, were in vain. Therefore, as I hope to be saved at the last Day, I never spake Dishonourably, Disloyally, or Dishonestly of the King; neither to this Frenchman, nor to any other; neither had I ever in all my Life, a thought of ill of his Majesty. Therefore I cannot but think it strange, that this Frenchman being so base, so mean a Fellow, should be so far credited; and so much for this Point. I have dealt truly, and I hope I shall be believed. I confess, I did attempt to escape, and I did dissemble and feign myself Sick at Salisbury, but I hope it was no fault. The Prophet David did make himself a Fool,

## Sir Walter Raleigh's Speech. 205

and did suffer Spittle to fall upon his Beard to escape the hands of his Enemies; and it was not imputed to him as sin; and I did it to prolong Time till his Majesty came, hoping for some Commiseration from him.

I forgive this Frenchman, and Sir Lewis Steuckley, and have received the Sacrament this Morning of Mr. Dean, and I do also forgive all the World. But thus much I am bound in Charity to speak of this Man, that all Men may take good heed of him: Sir Lewis Steuckley my Kinsman and Keeper, hath affirmed that I should tell him that I did tell my Lord Carew, and my Lord Doncaster, of my present Escape; but I protest before God, I never told Steuckley any such thing, neither did I tell my Lord Carew, or my Lord Doncaster of my pretended Escape. It was not likely that I should acquaint Two Privy Counsellors of my purpose; neither would I tell him, for he left me 6, 7, 8, 9, or 10 Days to go where I listed, while he Rode about the Country.

Again he Accused me, that I should tell him, that my Lord Carew, and my Lord Doncaster, would meet me in France, which was never my Speech or Thought.

Thirdly, He Accused me, that I shewed him a Letter, and that I should give him 10000 l. for my Escape; but cast my Soul into everlasting Fire, if I ever made him offer of 10000 l. or 1000 l. but meerly I shewed him a Letter, that if he would go with me, his Debts should be paid when he was gone; neither had I 1000 Pound, for if I had had

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So much, I could have done better with it, and made my Peace otherwise.

Fourthly, When I came to Sir Edward Pelham, who had been sometimes a follower of mine, who gave me good Entertainment, he gave out that I had received some Dram of Poyson in Sir Edward Pelham's House; when I answered, that I feared no such thing, for I was well assured of them in the House. Now God forgive him, for I do, and I desire God to forgive him; I will not only say God is the God of Revenge, but I desire God to forgive him, as I hope to be forgiven.

Then he looked over his Note of Remembrance, Well, saith he, thus far have I gone, now a little more, and I will have done by and by.

It was told the King I was brought per force into England, and that I did not intend to come again, whereas Captain Charles Parker, Mr. Tresham, Mr. Leak, and divers others, that knew how I was dealt withal, shall Witness for me; for the common Souldiers, which were 150 Mutined; and sent for me to come into the Gun-room to them, for at that time they would not come to me; and there was I forced to take an Oath, that I would not come into England till they would have me, or else they would cast me into the Sea and Drown me; afterwards they entred my Cabin and set themselves against me. After I had taken this Oath, with Wine and other things I drew the chiefest of them to desist, and at length I persuaded them to go into Ireland; then would they have gone into the North parts of Ireland, but I

## Sir Walter Raleigh's Speech. 207

told them they were Redshanks: But at last with much ado I perswaded them to go into the South parts; promising to get their Pardons, but was forced to give them 125 Pound at Kingsale to bring them home, otherwise I had never got from them.

There was a report that I meant not to go to Guiana at all, and that I knew not of any Myne, nor intended any such matter, but only to get my Liberty, which I had not the Wit to keep. But it was my full intent to go for Gold, for the Benefit of his Majesty and those that went with me, with the rest of my Country-Men: But he that knew the Head of the Myne would not discover it, when he saw that my Son was slain, but made himself away. And then he turned to my Lord of Arundel, and said, Being in the Gallery in my Ship at my Departure, your Honour took me by the Hand, and said you would request me one thing, that was, That whether I made a good Voyage or bad, yet I should return again into England, when I made you a Promise and gave you my Faith that I would: And so you did (answered my Lord) it is true, they were the last words I spake unto you. Another Opinion was, that I carried to Sea with me 16000 Pieces, and that was all the Voyage intended, only to get Money into my hands, and that I had weighed my Voyage before; whereas I protest I had but a 100 Pound in all the World, whereof I gave 25 Pounds to my Wife: The reason of this Speech was this; there was entered 20000 Pound, and yet but 4000 Pound in the Surveyors Book, now I gave my Bill for the other 16000 Pound for divers Ad-

ven-

208 Sir Walter Raleigh's Speech.

venturers, but I protest I had not a Penny of Money more than 100 Pound, as I hope to be saved.

Another Slander was raised, that I would have gone away from them and left them at Guiana, but there were a great many of worthy Men that Accompanied me always, as my Serjeant Major George Raleigh, and divers others (which he then named) that knew my intent was nothing so. And these be the Material Points I thought good to speak of; I am now at this instant to render my Account to God, and I protest as I shall appear before Him, this that I have spoken is true.

I will speak but a word or two more, because I will not trouble Mr. Sheriff too long.

There was a Report spread, that I should rejoyce at the death of my Lord of Essex, and that I should take Tobacco in his presence; whereas I protest I shed Tears at his Death, though I was one of the contrary Faction; and at the time of his Death I was all the while in the Armory at the further end, where I could but see him; I was sorry that I was not with him, for I heard he had a desire to see me, and he Reconciled to me. So that I protest I lamented his Death, and good cause had I, for it was the worse for me as it proved, for after he was gone I was little beloved.

And now I intreat you all to joyn with me in Prayer; that the Great God of Heaven, whom I have grievously offended, being a Man full of all Vanity, and have lived a sinful Life, in all sinful Callings, having been a Souldier, a Cap-  
tain,



## Sir Walter Raleigh's Speech. 209

tain, a Sea-Captain, and a Courtier, which are all places of Wickedness and Vice; that God (I say) would forgive me, and cast away my Sins from me, and that he would receive me into everlasting Life. So I take my leave of you all, making my Peace with God.

Then Proclamation being made that all Men should depart the Scaffold, he prepared himself for Death, giving away his Hat and wrought Night-cap, and some Money to such as he knew that stood near him: Taking his leave of the Lords, Knights, and other Gentlemen, and among the rest taking his leave of the Lord of Arundel, he thanked him for his company, and intreated him to desire the King, that no Scandalous Writing to Defame him might be Published after his Death; saying further unto him, I have a long Journey to go, and therefore will take my leave.

Then putting off his Gown and Doublet, he called to the Headsman to shew him the Ax, which being not presently shew'd him, he said, *I pray thee let me see it, Dost thou think that I am afraid of it?* And having it in his hands, he felt along upon the Edge of it, and smiling, spake to the Sheriff, saying, *This is a sharp Medicine, but it is a Physitian for all Diseases.* Then going to and fro upon the Scaffold, on every side he prayed the Company to pray to God to assist him and strengthen him.

And so being asked which way he would lay himself, on which side the Block, as he stretched

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stretched himself along and laid his Head on the Block, he said, *So the Heart be right, it is no matter which way the Head lieth.* And then Praying after he had forgiven the Headsman, having given him a Sign when he should do his Office, at two blows he lost both Head and Life, his Body never shrinking nor moving. His Head was shewed on each side of the Scaffold, and then put into a Red-Leather Bag, and his wrought Velvet Gown thrown over it, which was afterwards conveyed away in a Mourning Coach of his Ladies.

The large Effusion of Blood, which proceeded from his Veins, amaz'd the Spectators, who Conjectured he had stock enough left of Nature, to have surviv'd many Years, though now near Fourscore Years old. He behaved himself at his Death, with so High and so Religious a Resolution, as if a Christian had acted a Roman, or rather a Roman a Christian: And by the Magnanimity, which was then conspicuous in him, he abundantly baffled their Calumnies, who had Accused him of Atheism.

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AND  
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Between  
A COUNTESS OF STATES  
AND  
A JUSTICE



Dedicated to the  
Excellent Majesty

LONDON  
Printed for Henry Aldrich, at the Phoenix in  
St. Paul's Church-yard. MDCCLXII.

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TO THE  
KING.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

**T**Hose that are suppress'd and helpless are commonly silent, wishing that the common ill in all sort might be with their particular misfortunes : which disposition, as it is uncharitable in all Men, so it would be in me more Dog-like than Man-like, to bite the Stone that struck me : (to wit) the borrowed Authority of my Sovereign misinform'd, seeing their arms and hands that flung it, are most of them already rotten. For I must confess it ever that they are debts, and not discontentments, that your Majesty hath laid upon me ; the Debts and Obligation of a friendless adversity, far more payable in all kinds, than those of the prosperous : All which, nor the least of them, though I cannot discharge, I may yet endeavour it. And notwithstanding my restraint hath retrench'd all ways, as well as the ways of labour and will, as of all other employments, yet hath it left



left with me my Cogitations, than which I have  
nothing else to offer on the Altar of my Love.

Of those (most gracious Sovereign) I have aske  
some part in the following dispute, between a Coun  
sellour of Estate, and a Justice of Peace, the one  
disswading, the other perswading the Calling  
of a Parliament. In all which, since the Norman  
Conquest, (at the least so many, as Historians have  
gathered) I have in some things in the following  
Dialogue presented your Majesty with the contents  
and successes.

Some things there are, and those of the greatest,  
which because they ought to be resolved on, I thought  
fit to range 'em in the front of the rest, so the end your  
Majesty may be pleased to examine your own great  
and Princely Heart of their acceptance, or refusal.

The first is, that Supposition, that your Maje  
sties Subjects give nothing but with adjection of  
their own Interest, interlacing in one and the same  
act your Majesties relief, their own liberties: not  
that your Majesties piety was ever suspected, but be  
cause the best Princes are ever the least jealous, your  
Majesty judging others by your self, who have a  
bused your Majesties trust. The fear'd continuance  
of the like abuse may perswade the provision. But  
this caution, however it seemeth at first sight, your  
Majesty shall perceive by many examples following,  
but frivolous. The Bonds of Subjects to their Kings  
should always be wrought out of Iron, the Bonds of  
Kings unto Subjects but with Cobwebs.

This it is (most renowned Sovereign) that this  
Traffick of assurances hath been often arged, of  
which, if the Conditions had been easie, our Kings  
have as easily kept them; if hard and prejudicial,  
either

either to their honours or estates, the Creditors have  
been paid their debts with their own presumption.

For all binding of a King by Law upon the ad-  
vantage of his necessity, makes the breach it self  
lawful in a King, his Charters and all other in-  
struments being no other than the surviving wit-  
nesses of unconstrained will: *Princeps non sub-  
jicitur nisi sua voluntate libera, mero motu  
& certa scientia*: Necessary words in all the  
grants of a King witnessing that the same grants  
were given freely and knowingly.

The second resolution will rest in your Majesty,  
having the new Impositions, all Monopolies, and  
other grievances of the People, to the consideration  
of the House, Provided, that your Majesties reve-  
nue be not abated, which if your Majesty shall re-  
fuse, it is thought that the disputes will last long,  
and the issues will be doubtful: And on the con-  
trary if your Majesty vouchsafe it, it may per-  
chance be stiled a yielding, which seemeth by the  
sound to brave the Regality.

But (most excellent Prince) what other is it to  
the ears of the Wise, but as the sound of a Trumpet,  
having blasted forth a false Alarm, becomes the  
common air? Shall the head yield to the feet?  
certainly it ought, when they are grieved, for wis-  
dom will rather regard the commodity, than object  
the disgrace, seeing if the feet lie in fetters, the  
head cannot be freed, and where the feet feel but their  
own pains, the head doth not only suffer by parti-  
cipation, but withal by consideration of the evil.

Certainly the point of honour well weighed hath  
nothing in it to even the Balance, for by your  
Majesties favour, your Majesty doth not yield either

to

to any person or to any power, but to dispute only in which the Proposition and Minor prove nothing without a Conclusion, which no other person or power can make, but a Majesty: yea, this in Henry the Third his time was called a wisdom incomparable. For the King raised again, recovered his Authority: For, being in that extremity as he was driven with the Queen and his Children, Cum Abbatibus & Prioribus satis humilibus hospitia querere & Prandia: For the rest, may it please your Majesty to consider, that there can nothing befall your Majesty in matters of affairs more unfortunately, than the Commons of Parliament with ill success: A dishonour so perswasive and adventurous, as it will not only find arguments, but it will take the leading of all Enemies that shall offer themselves against your Majesties Estate.

Le Tabourin de la pauvreté ne fait point de bruit: Of which dangerous disease in Princes, the remedy doth chiefly consist in the love of the people, which how it may be had and held, no Man knows better than your Majesty; how to lose it, all Men know, and know that it is lost by nothing more than by the defence of others in wrong doing. The only motives of mischances that ever came to Kings of this Land since the Conquest.

It is only love (most renowned Sovereign) must prepare the way for your Majesties following desires. It is love which obeys, which suffers, which gives, which sticks at nothing; which love, as well of your Majesties People, as the love of God to your Majesty, that it may always hold, shall be the continual prayers of,

Your Majesties most humble Vassal,  
Walter Raleigh.

THE  
PREROGATIVE  
OF  
PARLIAMENTS

Proved in a Dialogue between a  
Counsellor of State, and a Ju-  
stice of Peace.

*Counsellor.*

**N**OW, Sir, what think you of M.  
*St. Johns* Trial in the Star Cham-  
ber? I know that the bruit ran  
that he was hardly dealt withal,  
because he was imprisoned in  
the Tower, seeing his dissuasion from grant-  
ing a Benevolence to the King was warranted  
by the Law.

*Justice.* Surely, Sir, it was made manifest  
at the hearing, that M. *St. John* was rather in  
love with his own Letter; he confessed he

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had seen your Lordships Letter, before wrote his to the Mayor of *Marleborough*, and in your Lordships Letter, there was no word whereto the Statutes by Mr. St. John alledged, had reference; for those Statutes did condemn the gathering of Money from the Subject, under Title of a free Gift; whereas a fifth, a sixth, a tenth, &c. was laid down and required. But my good Lord, though divers Shires have given to His Majesty, some more, some less, what is this to the King's Debt?

*Counf.* We know it well enough, but we have many other Projects.

*Just.* It is true, my good Lord: But your Lordship will find, that when by these you have drawn many petty Sums from the Subjects, and those sometimes spent as fast as they are gathered, His Majesty being nothing enabled thereby, when you shall be forced to demand your *great aide*, the Country will excuse it self in regard of their former Payments.

*Counf.* What mean you by the *great aide*?

*Just.* I mean the aid of Parliament.

*Counf.* By Parliament, I would fain know the Man that durst perswade the King unto it, for if it should succeed ill, in what Case were he?

*Just.* You say well for your self, my Lord, and perchance you that are Lovers of your selves, (under pardon) do follow the Advice of the late Duke of *Alva*, who was ever opposite to all Resolutions in Business of Importance;



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portance; for if the things enterprised succeeded well, the advice never came in question; if ill, (whereto great undertakings are commonly subject) he then made his advantage by remembering his Country counsel: But my good Lord, these reserved Politicians are not the best Servants; for he that is bound to adventure his life for his Master, is also bound to adventure his advice, *Keep not back counsel (saith Ecclesiasticus) when it may do good.*

*Counf.* But Sir, I speak it not in other respect than I think it dangerous for the King to assemble the Three Estates, for thereby have our former Kings always lost somewhat of their Prerogatives. And because that you shall not think that I speak it at random, I will begin with elder times, wherein the first contention began betwixt the Kings of this Land and their Subjects in Parliament.

*Just.* Your Lordship shall do me a singular favour.

*Counf.* You know that the Kings of *England* had no formal Parliament till about the Eighteenth year of *Henry* the first; for in his Seventeenth year for the Marriage of his Daughter, the King raised a Tax upon every Hide of Land by the advice of his Privy Council alone. But you may remember how the Subjects soon after the establishment of this Parliament began to stand upon Terms with the King, and drew from

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him by strong Hand and the Sword the *great Charter*.

*Just.* Your Lordship says well, they drew from the King the *great Charter* by the Sword, and hereof the Parliament cannot be accused, but the Lords.

*Couns.* You say well, but it was after the establishment of the Parliament, and by colour of it, that they had so great daring, before that time they could not endure to hear of *St. Edwards Laws*, but resisting the confirmation in all they could, although by those Laws the Subjects of this Island were no less free than any of all *Europe*.

*Just.* My good Lord, the reason is manifest; for while the *Normans* and others of the *French* that followed the Conqueror made spoil of the *English*, they would not endure that any thing but the will of the Conqueror should stand for Law: But after the third descent or two, when themselves were become *English* and found themselves beaten with their own rods they then began to favour the difference between subjection and slavery, and insist upon the Law, *Memento & Tuum*, and to be able to say unto themselves, *hoc fac & vive*. Yea, that the conquering *English* in *Ireland* did the like, your Lordship knows it better than I.

*Couns.* I think you guess aright: And to the end the Subject may know that being a faithful Servant to his Prince, he might enjoy his own life, and paying to his Prince what belongs to a Sovereign, the remainder was his own to dispose, *Henry* the first to con-

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his Vassals, gave them the great Charter and the Charter of Forrests.

*Just.* What reason then had King John to deny the confirmation?

*Couns.* He did not, but he on the contrary confirmed both the Charters with additions, and required the Pope whom he had then made his Superior to strengthen him with a Golden Bull.

*Just.* But your Honour knows, that it was not long, that he repented himself.

*Couns.* It is true, and he had reason so to do, for the Barons refused to follow him into France, as they ought to have done, and to say true, this great Charter upon which you insist so much, was not originally granted regally and freely; for Henry the first did usurp the Kingdom, and therefore the better to assure himself against Robert his eldest Brother, he flattered the Nobility and People with those Charters. Yea, King John that confirmed them, had the like respect: For Arthur Duke of Britain was the undoubted Heir of the Crown, upon whom John usurped. And so to conclude, these Charters had their original from Kings *de facto*, but not *de jure*.

*Just.* But King John confirmed the Charter after the Death of his Nephew Arthur, when he was then Rex *de jure* also.

*Couns.* It is true, for he durst do no other, standing accursed, whereby few or none obeyed him; for his Nobility refused to follow him into Scotland, and he had so grieved

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the People by pulling down all the Park-pale before Harvest, to the end his Deer might spoil the Corn : And by seizing the Temporalities of so many Bishopricks into his hands and chiefly for practising the Death of the Duke of *Brittain* his Nephew, as also having lost *Normandy* to the *French*, so as the Heart of all Men were turned from him.

*Just. Nay*, by your favour, my Lord, King *John* restored King *Edwards* Laws after his absolution, and wrote his Letters in the Fifteenth of his Reign to all Sheriffs, countermanning all former oppressions, yea, this he did, notwithstanding the Lords refused to follow him into *France*.

*Couns.* Pardon me, he did not restore King *Edwards* Laws then, nor yet confirmed the Charters, but he promised upon his absolution to do both : But after his return out of *France* in his sixteenth year he denyed it, because without such a promise he had not obtained restitution, his promise being constrained, and not voluntary.

*Just.* But what think you, was he not bound in honour to perform it ?

*Couns.* Certainly no, for it was determined, in the case of King *Francis* the first of *France*, that all promises by him made, whilst he was in the hands of *Charles* the Fifth his Enemy, were void, by reason the Judge of honour, which tells us he durst do no other.

*Just.* But King *John* was not in prison.

*Couns.* Yet for all that, restraint is imprisonment, yea, fear it self is imprisonment, and

and the King was subject to both; I know there is nothing more Kingly in a King than the performance of his Word; but yet of a Word freely and voluntarily given. Neither was the *Charter of Henry* the first so published, that all Men might plead it for their advantage, but a *Charter* was left (*in deposito*) in the hands of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* for the time, and so to his Successors. *Stephen Langton*, who was ever a Traytor to the King, produced this *Charter*, and shewed it to the Barons, thereby encouraging them to make War against the King. Neither was it the Old *Charter*, simply the Barons sought to have confirmed, but they presented unto the King other Articles and Orders, tending to the alteration of the whole Commonwealth, which when the King refused to sign, the Barons presently put themselves into the Field, and in rebellious and outrageous fashion sent the King word, except he confirm'd them, they would not desist from making War against him, till he had satisfied them therein. And in conclusion, the King being betrayed of all his Nobility, in effect was forced to grant the *Charter of Magna Charta*, and *Charta de Forestis*, at such times as he was invironed with an Army in the Meadows of *Staynes*, which *Charters* being procured by force, Pope *Innocent* afterward disavowed, and threatned to curse the Barons if they submitted not themselves as they ought to their Sovereign Lord; which when the Lords refused to obey, the King entertained



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an Army of Strangers for his own defence wherewith having mastered and beate[n] the Barons, they called in *Lewis of France* (a most unnatural resolution) to be their King. Neither was *Magna Charta* a Law in the Nineteenth of *Hen. 2.* but simply a Charter which he confirmed in the Twenty first of his Reign and made it a Law in the 25, according to *Littleton's* opinion. Thus much for the beginning of the *Great Charter*, which had first an obscure birth from usurpation, and was secondly fostered and shewed to the World by Rebellion.

*Just.* I cannot deny, but that all your Lordship hath said is true; but seeing the Charters were afterwards so many times confirmed by Parliament, and made Laws, and that there is nothing in them unequal or prejudicial to the King, doth not your Honour think it reason they should be observed?

*Couns.* Yes, and observed they are in all that the state of a King can permit, for no Man is destroyed but by the Laws of the Land, no Man disseized of his Inheritance, but by the Laws of the Land; imprisoned they are by the Prerogative where the King hath cause to suspect their loyalty; for were it otherwise, the King should never come to the knowledge of any Conspiracy or Treason against his Person or State, and being imprisoned, yet doth not any Man suffer Death but by the Law of the Land.

*Just.*

*Just.* But may it please your Lordship, were not *Cornewallis*, *Sharpe*, and *Hoskins* imprisoned, being no suspicion of Treason there?

*Couns.* They were; but it cost them nothing.

*Just.* And what got the King by it? for in the conclusion, (besides the murmur of the People) *Cornewallis*, *Sharpe* and *Hoskins* having greatly over-shot themselves, and repented them, a Fine of 5 or 600 *l.* was laid on his Majesty for their Offences, for somuch their Dyet cost his Majesty.

*Couns.* I know who gave the advice, sure I am that it was none of mine: But thus I say, if you consult your memory, you shall find that those Kings which did in their own times confirm the *Magna Charta*, did not only imprison, but they caused of their Nobility and others to be slain without hearing or tryal.

*Just.* My good Lord, if you will give me leave to speak freely, I say, that they are not well advised that perswade the King not to admit the *Magna Charta* with the former reservations: For as the King can never lose a farthing by it, as I shall prove anon; So except *England* were as *Naples* is, and kept by Garisons of another Nation, it is impossible for a King of *England* to greaten and enrich himself by any way so assuredly, as by the love of his People: For by one Rebellion the King hath more loss than by a Hundred years observance of *Magna Charta*. For

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therein have our Kings been forced to compound with Rogues and Rebels, and to pardon them, yea, the state of the King, the Monarchy, the Nobility have been endangered by them.

*Couns.* Well, Sir, let that pass, why should not our Kings raise Money as the Kings of *France* do by their Letters and Edicts only; for since the time of *Lewis* the Eleventh, of whom it is said, that he freed the *French* Kings of their Wardship, the *French* Kings have seldom assembled the States for any Contribution.

*Just.* I will tell you why; the strength of *England* doth consist of the People and Yeomantry, the Peasants of *France* have no courage nor arms: In *France* every Village and Burrough hath a Castle, which the *French* call *Chasteau Villain*, every good City hath a good Cittadel, the King hath the Regiments of his Guards and his Men at Arms always in pay; yea, the Nobility of *France*, in whom the strength of *France* consists do always assist the King in those levies; because themselves being free, they made the same levies upon their Tenants. But my Lord, if you mark it, *France* was never free in effect from Civil Wars, and lately it was endangered either to be conquered by the *Spaniard*, or to be canonized by the rebellious *French* themselves, since that freedom of Wardship. But my good Lord, to leave this digression, that wherein I would willingly satisfy your Lordship, is, that the Kings of *England* have ne-

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not received loss by Parliament, or Prejudice.

*Chas.* No Sir! you shall find that the Subjects in Parliament have decreed great things to the disadvantage and dishonour of our Kings in former times.

*Just.* My good Lord, to avoid confusion, I will make a short repetition of them all, and then your Lordship may object where you see cause; and I doubt not but to give your Lordship satisfaction. In the sixth year of *Henry the Third* there was no dispute, the House gave the King Two Shillings of every plough'd Land within *England*, and in the end of the same year he had *Escuage* paid him, (to wit) for every Knights Fee two Marks in Silver. In the fifth year of that King, the Lords demanded the Confirmation of the *Great Charter*, which the Kings Council for that time present excused, alledging, that those priviledges were extorted by force during the Kings Minority; and yet the King was pleased to send forth his Writ to the Sheriffs of every County, requiring them to certifie what those Liberties were, and how used, and in exchange of the Lords demand, because they pressed him so violently, the King required all the Castles and places which the Lords held of his, and had held in time of his Father, with those Mannors and Lordships which they had heretofore wrested from the Crown, which at that time (the King being provided of forces) they durst not deny. In the Fourteenth year he had

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had the Fifteenth penny of all goods given him, upon condition to confirm the *Great Charter*: For by reason of the Wars in *France*, and the loss of *Rachel*, he was then enforced to consent to the Lords in all they demanded. In the tenth of his reign he fined the City of *London* at 50000 Marks, because they had received *Lewis* of *France*. In the eleventh year in the Parliament at *Oxford*, he revoked the great *Charter*, being granted when he was under age, and governed by the Earl of *Pembroke* and the Bishop of *Winchester*. In this eleventh year the Earls of *Cornwall* and *Chester*, *Marshal* *Edward* Earl of *Pembroke*, *Gilbert* Earl of *Glocester*, *Warren*, *Hereford*, *Ferrars*, and *Warwick*, and others rebelled against the King, and constrained him to yield unto them in what they demanded for their particular interest, which rebellion being appeased, he sailed into *France*, and in his fifteenth year he had a fifteenth of the *Temporalty*, and a disms and a half of the *Spirituality*, and withal *Escuage* of every *Knights Fee*.

*Couns.* But what say you to the Parliament of *Westminster* in the 16th of the King, where notwithstanding the Wars of *France*, and his great charge in repulsing the *Welsh* Rebels, he was flatly denied the Subsidy demanded?

*Just.* I confess, my Lord, that the house excused themselves by reason of their poverty, and the Lords taking of Arms; in the next year it was manifest that the house

was



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was practised against the King: And was it not so, my good Lord, think you in our two last Parliaments? For in the first even those whom his Majesty trusted most, betrayed him in the union, and in the Second there were other of the great ones ran counter. But your Lordship spake of dangers of Parliaments, in this, my Lord, there was a denial, but there was no danger at all: but to return where I left, what got the Lords by practising the house at that time? I say, that those that brake this Staff upon the King, were overturned with the counterbuff, for he resumed all those Lands which he had given in his Minority, he called all his exacting Officers to account, he found them all faulty, he examined the corruption of other Magistrates, and from all these he drew sufficient Mony to satisfie his present necessity; whereby he not only spared his People, but highly contented them with an act of so great Justice: Yea Hubert Earl of Kent, the Chief Justice whom he had most trusted, and most advanced, was found as false to the King, as any one of the rest. And for conclusion, in the end of that year at the assembly of the States at Lambeth, the King had the fortieth part of every Mans goods given him freely toward his debts: For the People, who the same year had refused to give the King any thing, when they saw he had squeezed those sponges of the Common-wealth, they willingly yielded to give him satisfaction.

*Couns.*

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*Counf.* But I pray you, what became of this *Hubert*, whom the King had favoured above all Men, betraying his Majesty as he did?

*Iust.* There were many that perswaded the King to put him to death, but he could not be drawn to consent, but the King seized upon his Estate which was great; yet in the end he left him a sufficient portion and gave him his life, because he had done great service in former times: For his Majesty, though he took advantage of his Vice, yet he forgot not to have consideration of his Virtue. And upon this occasion it was that the King, betrayed by those whom he most trusted, entertained Strangers, and gave them their Offices, and the charge of his Castles and strong places in *England*.

*Counf.* But the drawing in of those Strangers was the cause that *Marshal Earl of Pembroke* moved War against the King.

*Iust.* It is true, my good Lord, but he was soon after slain in *Ireland*, and his whole Masculine Race ten years extinguished, tho there were five Sons of them, and *Marshal* being dead, who was the Mover and Ring-leader of that War, the King pardoned the rest of the Lords that had assisted *Marshal*.

*Counf.* What reason had the King so to do?

*Iust.* Because he was perswaded, that they loved his person, and only hated those corrupt Counsellors, that then bore the greatest sway.

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way under him, as also because they were the best Men of War he had, whom if he had destroyed, having War with the French, he had wanted Commanders to have served him.

*Counf.* But what reason had the Lords to take Arms?

*Just.* Because the King entertained the *Dutch*, were not they the Kings Vassals also? Should the *Spaniards* rebel, because the *Spanish* King trusts to the *Neapolitans*, *Portuguez*, *Millanoes*, and other Nations his Vassals, seeing those that are governed by the Vice-Roys and Deputies are in policy to be well entertained, and to be employed, who would otherwise devise how to free themselves; whereas, being trusted and employed by their Prince, they entertain themselves with the hopes that other of the Kings Vassals do: If the King had called in the *Spaniards*, or other Nations not his Subjects, the Nobility of *England* had reason of grief.

*Counf.* But what People did ever serve the King of *England* more faithfully than the *Gascoignes* did, even to the last of the Conquest of that Dutchy?

*Just.* Your Lordship says well, and I am of that opinion, that if it had pleased the Queen of *England* to have drawn some of the chief of the *Irish* Nobility into *England*, and by exchange have made them good Freeholders in *England*, she had saved above Two Millions of pounds, which were consumed in

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in times of those Rebellions. For who held the great *Gastoigne* firm to the Crown of *England* (of whom the Duke of *Espernon* married the Inheritrix) but his Earldom of *Kendal* in *England*, whereof the Duke of *Espernon* (in right of his Wife) bears the Title to this day? And to the same end I take it, hath *James* our Sovereign Lord given Lands to divers of the Nobility of *Scotland*. And if I were worthy to advise your Lordship, I should think, that your Lordship should do the King great service, to put him in mind to prohibit all the *Scottish* Nation to alienate and sell away their Inheritance here; for they selling, they not only give cause to the *English* to complain, that the Treasure of *England* is transported into *Scotland*, but his Majesty is thereby also frustrated of making both Nations one, and of assuring the Service and Obedience of the *Scots* in future.

*Couns.* You say well, for though those of *Scotland* that are advanced and enriched by the Kings Majesty, will no doubt, serve him faithfully, yet how their Heirs and Successors, having no inheritance to lose in *England*, may be seduced, is uncertain. But let us go on with our Parliament. And what say you to the denial, in the twenty sixth year of his reign, even when the King was invited to come into *France* by the Earl of *March*, who had married his Mother, and who promised to assist the King in the Conquest of many places lost?

*Just.*

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*Just.* It is true, my good Lord, that a sub-  
sidie was then denyed, and the reasons are  
delivered in *English Histories*, and indeed the  
King not long before had spent much Treas-  
ure in aiding the Duke of Britain to no pur-  
pose; for he drew over the King, but to  
draw on good conditions for himself, as the  
Earl of March his Father-in-law now did:  
As the *English Barons* did invite *Lewis of France*  
not long before, as in elder times all the  
Kings and States had done, and in late years  
the Leaguers of *France* entertained the *Span-  
iards*, and the *French Protestants* and *Nether-  
lands*, *Queen Elizabeth*, not with any purpose  
to greaten those that aid them, but to pur-  
chase to themselves an advantageous peace.  
But what say the Histories to this denial?  
They say, with a world of payments, there  
mentioned, that the King had drawn the  
Nobility dry. And besides, that whereas  
not long before great Sums of Money were  
given, and the same appointed to be kept  
in Four Castles, and not to be expended  
but by the advice of the Peers; is was  
believed, that the same Treasure was yet un-  
spent.

*Couns.* Good Sir, you have said enough;  
judge you whether it were not a dishonour  
to the King to be so tyed, as not to expend  
his Treasure but by other Mens advice, as it  
were by their license.

*Just.* Surely, my Lord, the King was well  
advised to take the Money upon any occa-  
sion, and they were fools that propounded  
the



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the restraint; for it doth not appear, that the King took any great heed to those Overseers: *Kings are bound by their piety, and by no other obligation.* In Queen *Maries* time, when it was thought that she was with Child, it was propounded in Parliament, that the Rule of the Realm should be given to King *Philip*, during the Minority of the hoped Prince or Princess; and the King offered his assurance in great Sums of Money, to relinquish the Government at such time as the Prince or Princess should be of age. At which motion, when all else were silent in the House, Lord *Dacres* (who was none of the wisest) asked, who shall sue the Kings Bonds? Which ended the dispute, (for what other Bond is between a King and his Vassals, than the Bond of the Kings Faith?) But my good Lord, the King, notwithstanding the denial at that time, was with gifts from particular Persons, and otherwise, supplied for proceeding of his journey for that time into *France*; he took with him thirty Casks filled with Silver and Coyn, which was a great Treasure in those days. And lastly, notwithstanding the first denial, in the Kings absence he had Escuage granted him, (to wit) 20 s. of every Knights Fee.

*Consf.* What say you then to the twenty eighth year of that King, in which when the King demanded relief, the States would not consent, except the same former order had been taken for the appointing of four Overseers for the Treasure: As also that the

Lord

Lord Chief Justice and the Lord Chancellor should be chosen by the States, with some Barons of the Exchequer and other Officers?

*Just.* My good Lord, admit the King had yielded to their demands, then whatsoever had been ordained by those Magistrates to the dislike of the Commonwealth, the people had been without remedy, whereas while the King made them, they had their appeal and other remedies. But those demands vanished, and in the end the King had escuage given him, without any of their Conditions. It is an excellent virtue in a King to have patience, and to give way to the fury of Men's Passions. The Whale when he is stricken by the Fisherman, grows into that fury, that he cannot be resisted, but will overthrow all the Ships and Barks that come into his way; but when he hath rumbled a while, he is drawn to the shore with a twin'd thred.

*Couns.* What say you then to the Parliament in the twenty ninth of that King?

*Just.* I say, that the Commons being unable to pay, the King relieves himself upon the richer sort: And so it likewise happened in the 33. of that King, in which he was relieved chiefly by the City of *London*. But, my good Lord, in the Parliament in *London* in the thirty eighth year, he had given him the tenth of all the Revenues of the Church for three years, and three marks of every Knights Fee throughout the Kingdom, upon his promise and oath upon the observing of  
*Magna*

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*Magna Charta*, but in the end of the same year, the King being then in *France*, he was denied the Aids which he required. What is this to the danger of a Parliament? especially at this time they had reason to refuse, they had given so great a sum in the beginning of the same year. And again, because it was known that the King had but pretended War with the King of *Castile*, with whom he had secretly contracted an Alliance, and concluded a Marriage betwixt his Son *Edward* and the Lady *Eleanor*. These false Fires do but fright Children, and it commonly falls out, that when the cause given is known to be false, the necessity pretended is thought to be feigned. Royal dealing hath evermore Royal success: and as the King was denied in the eight and thirtieth year, so was he denied in the nine and thirtieth year, because the Nobility and the People saw it plainly, that the King was abused by the Pope, who as well in despite to *Manfred* Bastard, Son to the Emperor *Frederick* the second, as to cozen the King, and to waite him, would needs bestow on the King the Kingdom of *Sicily*; to recover which, the King sent all the Treasure he could borrow or scrape to the Pope, and withal gave him Letters of Credence, for to take up what he could in *Italy*, the King binding himself for the payment. Now, my good Lord, the wisdom of Princes is seen in nothing more than in their enterprises. So how displeasing it was to the  
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State of *England* to consume the Treasure of the Land, and in the conquest of *Sicily* so far off, and otherwise, for that the *English* had lost *Normandy* under their noses, and so many goodly parts of *France*, of their own proper Inheritances: The reason of the denial is as well to be considered as the denial.

*Couns.* Was not the King also denied a Subsidy in the forty first of his Reign?

*Just.* No, my Lord: for although the King required Money as before, for the impossible conquest of *Sicily*, yet the House offered to give 52000 marks, which whether he refused or accepted, is uncertain; and whilst the King dreamed of *Sicily*, the *Welsh* invaded and spoiled the Borders of *England*; for in the Parliament of *London*, when the King urged the House for the Prosecuting the conquest of *Sicily*, the Lords utterly disliking the attempt, urged the Prosecuting of the *Welsh-men*: Which Parliament being again Prorogued, did assemble at *Oxford*, and was called the mad Parliament, which was no other than an assembly of Rebels, for the Royal assent of the King, which gives life to all Laws formed by the three Estates, was not a Royal assent, when both the King and the Prince were constrained to yield to the Lords. A constrained consent is the consent of a Captive and not of a King, and therefore there was nothing done there either legally or royally. For if it be not properly a Parliament where the Subject is not free, certainly

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tainly it can be none where the King bound, for all Kingly Rule was taken from the King, and twelve Peers appointed; and as some Writers have it, twenty four Peers to govern the Realm, and therefore the Assembly made by Jack Straw and other Rebels may as well be called a Parliament as that of Oxford. *Principis nomen habere, non est Princeps*, for thereby was the King driven not only to compound all quarrells with the French, but to have means to be revenged on the rebellious Lords: but he quitted his right to *Normandy, Anjou, and Mayne*.

*Comm.* But Sir, what needed this extremity, seeing the Lords required but the Confirmation of the former Charter, which was not prejudicial to the King to grant?

*Just.* Yes, my good Lord, but they insulted upon the King, and would not suffer him to enter into his own Castles, they put down the Purveyor of the meat for the maintenance of his House: as if the King had been a Bankrupt, and gave order that without ready Money he should not take up a Chicken. And though there is nothing against the royalty of a King in these Charters (the Kings of *England* being Kings of freemen, and not of slaves) yet it is so contrary to the nature of a King to be forced even to those things, which may be to his advantage, as the King had some reason to seek the dispensation of his Oath from the Pope, and to draw in Strangers for his own de-



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ference: Yea, *jure salvo Corone nostre* is included inclusively in all Oaths and Promises exacted from a Sovereign.

*Counf.* But you cannot be ignorant how dangerous a thing it is to call in other Nations, both for the Spoil they make, as also, because they have often held the possession of the best places with which they have been trusted.

*Just.* It is true my good Lord, that there is nothing so dangerous for a King as to be constrained and held as a Prisoner to his Vassals, for by that, *Edward the second*, and *Richard the second* lost their Kingdoms and their Lives. And for calling in of Strangers, was not King *Edward the sixth* driven to call in Strangers against the Rebels in *Norfolk*, *Cornwall*, *Oxfordshire*, and elsewhere? Have not the Kings of *Scotland* been oftentimes constrained to entertain Strangers against the Kings of *England*? And the King of *England* at this time, had he not been divers times assisted by the Kings of *Scotland*, had been endangered to have been expelled for ever.

*Counf.* But yet you know those Kings were deposed by Parliament.

*Just.* Yea, my good Lord, being Prisoners, being out of Possession and being in their hands that were Princes of the blood and pretenders. It is an old Country Proverb, (that *Might overcomes Right*) a weak Title that wears a strong Sword, commonly prevails against a strong Title that wears but a weak

weak one, otherwise Philip the second had never been Duke of Portugal nor Duke of Milan, nor King of Naples and Sicily. But my Lord, *Errores non sunt Trabendi in exemplum.* I speak of regal, peaceable, and lawful Parliaments. The King at this time was but a King in name, for Gloucester, Leicester and Chichester made choice of other Nine, to whom the rule of the Realm was committed; and the Prince was forced to purchase his Liberty from the Earl of Leicester, by giving for his Ransome the Countie Palatine of Chester. But my Lord let us judge of those occasions by their events: what became of this proud Earl? Was he not soon after slain in Evesham? Was he not left naked in the field, and left a shameful Spectacle, his Head being cut off from his Shoulders, his Privy Parts from his Body and laid on each side of his Nose? And did not God extinguish his race? After which, in a lawful Parliament at Westminster (confirmed in a following Parliament of Westminster) were not all the Lords that followed Leicester disinherited? And when that fool Gloucester, after the death of Leicester (whom he had formerly forsaken) made himself the head of a second Rebellion, and called in Strangers, for which not long before he had cryed out against the King, was not he in the end, after that he had seen the slaughter of so many of the Barons, the spoil of their Castles, and Lordships, constrained to submit himself, as all the survivors did, of which they

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they that sped best, paid their Fines and Ransoms, the King reserving his younger Son, the Earldoms of Leicester and Derby.

*Couns.* Well Sir, we have disputed this King to the grave, though it be true, that he subdued all his Enemies, and brought them to confusion, yet those examples did not terrifie their Successors, but the Earl Marshall, and Hereford, threatned King Edward the first, with a new War.

*Iust.* They did so, but after the death of Hereford, the Earl Marshall repented himself, and to gain the King's favour, he made him heir of all his Lands. But what is this to the Parliament? for there was never King of this Land had more given him for the time of his Reign, than Edward the Son of Henry the third had.

*Couns.* How doth that appear?

*Iust.* In this sort, my good Lord, in this Kings third year he had given him the fifteenth part of all goods. In his 6th year a twentieth, in his twelfth year a twentieth, in his fourteenth year he had Escheage (to wit) Forty shillings of every Knights Fee, in his eighteenth year he had the eleventh part of all moveable goods within the Kingdom, in his nineteenth year the tenth part of all Church livings in England, Scotland, and Ireland for six years, by agreement from the Pope, in his three and twentieth year he raised a tax upon Wooll and Fells, and on a day caused all the religious Houses to be searched, and all the

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treasure in them to be seized and brought to his Coffers, excusing himself by laying the fault upon his Treasurer: He had also in the end of the same year of the goods of all Burgeses, and of the Commons the tenth part, in the twenty fifth year of the Parliament of *St. Edmundsbury*, he had an eighteenth part of the Goods of the Burgeses, and of the people in general, the tenth part. He had also the same year by putting the Clergy out of his Protection a fifth part of their Goods, and in the same year he set a great Tax upon Wools, to wit from half a Mark to 40 s. upon every sack, whereupon the *Earl Marshall*, and the *Earl of Hereford* refusing to attend the King to *Flanders*, pretended the Grievances of the people. But in the end the King having pardoned them, and confirmed the Great Charter, he had the ninth Penny of all Goods from the Lords and Commons; of the Clergy, in the South he had the tenth penny, and in the North the fifth penny. In the two and thirtieth year he had a Subsidy freely granted. In the three and thirtieth year he confirmed the Great Charter of his own Royal Disposition, and the States to shew their thankfulness, gave the King for one year, the fifth part of all the Revenues of the Land, and of the Citizens the sixth part of their Goods. And in the same year the King used the Inquisition called *Trai le Baston*. By which all Justices and other Magistrates were grievously fined that had used extortion or bribery, or had otherwise

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mis-demeaned themselves to the great contentation of the people. This Commission likewise did enquire of Entradors, Barators, and all other the like Vermine, whereby the King gathered a great mass of Treasure with a great deal of Love. Now for the whole Reign of this King, who governed England thirty five years, there was not any Parliament to his Prejudice.

*Counf.* But there was taking of Arms by Marshall and Hereford.

*Just.* That's true, but why was that? because the King, notwithstanding all that was given him by Parliament did lay the greatest Taxes that ever King did without their consent. But what lost the King by those Lords? one of them gave the King all his Lands, and the other dyed in disgrace.

*Counf.* But what say you to the Parliament in Edward the seconds time his successor? did not the House of Parliament banish Pierce Gaveston whom the King favoured?

*Just.* But what was this Gaveston but an Esq; of Gascoigne, formerly banisht the Realm by King Edward the first, for corrupting the Prince Edward now Reigning. And the whole Kingdom fearing and detesting his venomous disposition, they besought his Majesty to cast him off, which the King performed by an Act of his own, and not by Act of Parliament, yea Gaveston's own Father-in-Law, the Earl of Gloucester, was one of the chieftest of the Lords that procured it. And yet finding the Kings Affection to fol-



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low him so strongly, they all consented to have him recalled. After which when his credit so encreased, that he despised and set at naught all the antient Nobility, and not only perswaded the King to all manner of outrages and riots, but withal transported what he listed of the Kings Treasure and Jewels; the Lords urged his Banishment the Second time, but neither was the first nor Second Banishment forced by Act of Parliament, but by the forceable Lords his Enemies. Lastly, he being recalled by the King the Earl of *Lancaster* caused his Head to be stricken off, when those of his Party had taken him Prisoner. By which presumptuous act, the Earl and the rest of his company committed Treason and Murder: Treason by raising an Army without Warrant, Murder by taking away the life of the King's Subjects. After which *Garveston* being dead, the *Spencers* got Possession of the Kings favour, though the younger of them was placed about the King, by the Lords themselves.

*Couns.* What say you then to the Parliament held at *London* about the Sixth year of that King?

*Just.* I say that the King was not bound to perform the Acts of this Parliament, because the Lords being too strong for the King, enforced his consent, for these be the words of our own History. *They wrested too much beyond the bounds of reason.*

*Couns.* What say you then to the Parliaments of the white wands in the Thirteenth of the King?

*Just.*

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*Just.* I say the Lords that were so moved, came with an Army, and by strong hand surprized the King, then constrained, (saith the story) the rest of the Lords, and compelled many of the Bishops to consent unto them. Yea it saith further, that the King durst not but Grant to all that they required, (to wit) for the banishment of the *Spencers*. Yea, they were so insolent, that they refused to lodge the Queen coming through *Kent* in the Castle of *Leeds*, and sent her to provide her lodging where she could get it so late in the Night, for which notwithstanding some that kept her out, were soon after taken and hang'd; and therefore your Lordship cannot call this a Parliament for the reasons before alledged. But my Lord, what became of those Law-givers to the King, even when they were greatest? a Knight of the North called *Andrew Herkely*, assembled the Forces of the Country, overthrew them and their Army, slew the Earl of *Hereford*, and other Barons, took their General *Thomas Earl of Lancaster*, the Kings Cozen-Germane, at that time possessed of five Earldoms, the Lords *Cliford*, *Talbot*, *Moubray*, *Maudine*, *Willington*, *Warren*, Lord *Darcy*, *Wishers*, *Knevill*, *Leyburne*, *Bekes*, *Lovell*, *Fitzwilliams*, *Watervild*, and divers other Barons, Knights and Esquires, and soon after the Lord *Percy* and the Lord *Warren* took the Lords *Baldsemere*, and the Lord *Audley*, the Lord *Teis*, *Gifford*, *Tuchet*, and many others that fled from the Battel, the most of which past under the hands of

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the Hang-Man, for constraining the King under colour and name of a Parliament. But this your good Lordship may judge, to whom, those tumultuous assemblies (which our Histories falsely call Parliaments) have been dangerous, the King in the end ever prevailed, and the Lords lost their lives, and estates. After which the *Spencers* in their banishment at *York*, in the Fifteenth of the King were restored to their Honours and Estates, and therein the King had a Subsidy given him the Sixth Penny of Goods throughout *England*, *Ireland*, and *Wales*.

*Couns.* Yet you see the *Spencers* were soon after dissolved.

*Just.* It is true my Lord, but that is nothing to our subject of Parliament, they may thank their own insolency, for they branded and despised the Queen, whom they ought to have honoured as the King's Wife; they were also exceeding greedy, and built themselves upon other mens ruines; they were ambitious, and exceeding malicious, whereupon that came, that when Chamberlain *Spencer* was hanged in *Hereford*, a part of the Twenty Fourth *Psalm* was written over his head: *Quid gloriaris in malitia Potens?*

*Couns.* Well Sir, you have all this while excused your self upon the Strength and Rebellions of the Lords, but what say you now to King *Edward* the Third, in whose time (and during the time of this victorious King, no Man durst take Arms or rebel) the three Estates did him the greatest affront that ever King received or endured, there-

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here I conclude where I began, that these Parliaments are dangerous for a King.

*Just.* To Answer your Lordship in order, may it please you first to call to mind, what was given to this great King by his Subjects before the dispute betwixt him and the House happened, which was in his latter days: From his first year to his fifth year there was nothing given the King by his Subjects. In his eighth year at the Parliament at *London* a tenth and a Fifteenth was granted. In his tenth year he seized upon the *Italians* goods here in *England* to his own use, with all the goods of the *Monks, Chuniackes*, and others of the Order of the *Cisterians*. In the eleventh year, he had given him by the Parliament a noble relief, the one half of the Wools throughout *England*, and of the Clergy all their Wools, after which, in the end of the year he had granted in his Parliament at *Westminster*, Forty shillings upon every Sack of Wooll, and for every Thirty Woollfells Forty shillings, for every Last of Leather, as much, and for all other Merchandizes after the same rate. The King promising that this years gathering ended, he would thenceforth content himself with the old Custom. He had over and above this great aid the 8th part of all Goods of all Citizens and Burgeses; and of other, as of Forreign Merchants, and such as lived not of the gain of breeding of sheep and cattel, the Fifteenth of their Goods. Nay my Lord, this was not all, though more than ever was granted to any King, for the

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same Parliament bestowed on the King the Ninth sheaf of all the Corn within the Land the ninth Fleece, and the Ninth Lamb for Two years next following; now what think your Lordship of this Parliament?

*Counf.* I say they were honest Men.

*Just.* And I say, the People are as loving to their King now, as ever they were, if they be honestly and wisely dealt withal, and so his Majesty had found them in his last two Parliaments, if he had not been betrayed by those whom he most trusted.

*Counf.* But I pray you Sir, whom shall a King trust, if he may not trust those whom he hath so greatly advanced?

*Just.* I will tell your Lordship whom the King may trust.

*Counf.* Who are they?

*Just.* His own reason, and his own excellent Judgment, which have not deceived him in any thing wherein His Majesty hath been pleased to exercise them; *Take Counsel of thine heart* (saith the Book of Wisdom) *for there is none more faithful unto thee than it.*

*Counf.* It is true, but his Majesty found that those wanted no judgment whom he trusted, and how could his Majesty divine of their Honesties?

*Just.* Will you pardon me if I speak freely, for I speak out of love, which (as Solomon saith) *covereth all Trespases*; the truth is, that his Majesty would never believe any Man that speaks against them, and they knew it well



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well enough, which gave them boldness to do what they did.

*Couns.* What was that?

*Just.* Even, my good Lord, to ruine the Kings estate so far as the state of so great a King may be ruined by Men ambitious and greedy without proportion. It had been a brave increase of revenue, my Lord, to have raised 50000 *l.* Land of the Kings to 20000 *l.* revenue, and to raise the revenue of Wards to 20000 *l.* more, 40000 *l.* added to the rest of his Majesties estate, had so enabled his Majesty, as he could never have wanted. And my good Lord, it had been an honest service to the King, to have added 7000 *l.* Lands of the Lord Cobham's, his Woods and Goods being worth 30000 *l.* more.

*Couns.* I know not the reason why it was not done.

*Just.* Neither doth your Lordship perchance know the reason why the 10000 *l.* offered by Swinnerton for a fine of the French Wines, was by the then Lord Treasurer conferred on Devonshire and his Mistress.

*Couns.* What moved the Treasurer to reject and cross that railing of the Kings Lands?

*Just.* The reason, my good Lord, is manifest, for had the Land been raised, then had the King known when he had given or exchanged Land, what he had given or exchanged.

*Couns.* What hurt had it been to the Treasu-

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rer, whose Office is truly to inform the King of the value of all that he giveth?

*Just.* So he did, when it did not concern himself nor his particular, for he could never admit any one piece of a good Mannor to pass in my Lord *Subigne's* Book of 1000 Land, till he himself had bought, and then all the remaining flowers of the Crown were culled out. Now had the Treasurer suffered the Kings Lands to have been raised, how could his Lordship have made choice of the old Rents, as well in that book of my Lord *Subigne*, as in exchange of *Theobalds*, for which he took *Hatfield*, which the greatest Subject or Favourite Queen *Elizabeth* had, never durst have named unto her by way of gift or exchange. Nay my Lord, so many other goodly Mannors have passed from his Majesty, as the very heart of the Kingdom mourneth to remember it, and the Eyes of the Kingdom shed Tears continually at the beholding it; yea, the Soul of the Kingdom is heavy unto Death with the consideration thereof, that so magnanimous a Prince should suffer himself to be so abused.

*Counj.* But Sir, you know that *Cobham's* Lands were entailed upon his Cousins.

*Just.* Yea, my Lord, but during the lives and races of *George Brooke* his children, it had been the Kings, that is to say, for ever in effect, but to wrest the King, and to draw the inheritance upon himself he perswaded his Majesty to relinquish his Interest for a petty Sum of Money; and that there might

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might be no counter working, he sent Brook six thousand pound to make friends, whereof Lord Hume had two thousand pound back again, Buckhurst and Barnisk had the other four thousand pound, and the Treasurer and his Heirs the Mass of Land for ever.

*Counf.* What then I pray you came to the King by this confiscation?

*Just.* My Lord, the Kings Majesty by all those goodly Possessions, Woods and Goods loseth five hundred pound by the year, which he giveth in Pension to Cobham, to maintain him in Prison.

*Counf.* Certainly, even in conscience they should have reserved so much of the Land in the Crown as to have given Cobham meat and apparel, and not made themselves so great gainers, and the King five hundred pound (*per Annum*) looser by the bargain, but it's past: *consilium non est eorum quæ fieri nequeunt.*

*Just.* Take the rest of the Sentence, my Lord: *Sed consilium versatur in iis quæ sunt in nostra Potestate.* It is yet, my good Lord, in Potestate Regis, to Right himself. But this is not all, my Lord; And I fear me, knowing your Lordships love to the King, it would put you in a Fever to hear all, I will therefore go on with my Parliaments.

*Counf.* I pray do so, and amongst the rest, I pray you, what say you to the Parliament holden

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holden at *London* in the fifteenth year of King *Edward the Third*?

*Just.* I say there was nothing conclude therein to the prejudice of the King. It is true, that a little before the sitting of the house, the King displaced his Chancellor and his Treasurer, and most of all his Judges and Officers of the Exchequer, and committed many of them to Prison, because they did not supply him with Money being beyond the Seas, for the rest the States assembled besought the King that the Laws of the two Charters might be observed, and that the great Officers of the Crown might be chosen by Parliament.

*Couns.* But what success had these Petitions?

*Just.* The Charters were observed, as before, and so they will be ever; and the other Petition was not rejected, the King being pleas'd, notwithstanding that the great Officers should take an Oath in Parliament to do Justice. Now for the Parliament of *Westminster* in the 17th year of the King, the King had Three Marks and a half for every sack of Wool transported; and in the eighteenth he had a tenth of the Clergy, and a fifteenth of the Laity for one year. His Majesty forbore after this to charge his Subjects with any more Payments, untill the twenty ninth of his Reign, when there was given the King by Parliament 50 for every sack of Wool transported for six years,  
by

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by which grant, the King received a thousand Marks a day, a greater matter than a thousand pounds in these days, and a 1000 *l.* a day amounts to 365000 *l.* a year, which was one of the greatest presents that ever was given to a King of this Land. For besides the cheapness of all things in that Age, the Kings Soldiers had but 3. *d.* a day wages, a Man at Arms 6. *d.* a Knight but 2. *s.* In the Parliament at *Westminster*, in the three and thirtieth year he had 26. *s.* 8. *d.* for every sack of Wool transported, and in the forty second year 3. *d.* 6. *s.* 8. *d.* for every sack of Wool transported, and in the forty fifth year he had 50000 *l.* of the Laity, and because the Spirituality disputed it, and did not pay so much, the King changed his Chancellor, Treasurer, and Privy-Seal being Bishops, and placed Lay men in their room.

*Couns.* It seems that in those days the Kings were no longer in love with their great Chancellors than when they deserved well of them.

*Just.* No my Lord, they were not, and that was the reason they were well served, and it was the custom then. and in many ages after, to change the Treasurer and the Chancellor every three years, and withal to hear all Mens complaints against them.

*Couns.* By this often change, the saying is verified, that there is no Inheritance in the Favour of Kings. *He that keepeth the Fig-tree (saith Solomon) shall eat the fruit thereof;*  
for



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for reason it is that the servant live by the Master.

*Just.* My Lord, you say well in both, but had the subject an inheritance in the Prince's favour, where the Prince hath no inheritance in the Subjects fidelity, then were Kings in more unhappy estate than common Persons: For the rest *Solomon* meaneth not, that he that *keepeth the Fig tree* should surfeit, though he meant he should eat, he meant not he should break the branches in gathering the Figs, or eat the ripe, and leave the rotten for the owner of the Tree; for what saith he in the following *Chap.* he saith, that *he that maketh haste to be rich, cannot be innocent.* And before that, he saith *that the end of an inheritance hastily gotten, cannot be blessed.* Your Lordship hath heard of few or none great with Kings, that have not used their power to oppress, that have not grown insolent and hateful to the people; yea, insolent towards those Princes that advanced them.

*Couns.* Yet you see that Princes can change their fancies.

*Just.* Yea my Lord, when favourites change their Faith, when they forget that how familiar soever Kings make themselves with their Vassals, yet they are Kings: *He that provoketh a King to Anger (saith Solomon) sinneth against his own Soul.* And he further saith, *That pride goeth before destruction, and a high mind before a fall.* I say therefore, that in discharging those *Lucifers*, how dear so-

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ever they have been, Kings make the World know, that they have more of Judgment than of Passion, yea, they thereby offer a satisfactory sacrifice to all their People. Too great benefis of Subjects to their King, where the mind is blown up with their own deservings, and too great benefits of Kings conferred upon their Subjects, where the mind is not qualified with a great deal of modesty, are equally dangerous. Of this latter and insolenter, had King *Richard* the Second delivered up to Justice but three or four, he had still held the love of the people, and thereby his life and estate.

*Couns.* Well I pray you go on with your Parliaments.

*Just.* The life of this great Kind *Edward* draws to an end, so do the Parliaments of his time, where in fifty years Reign he never received any affront, for in his 49th year he had a Disme and a fifteenth granted him freely.

*Couns.* But Sir, it is an old saying, that all is well that ends well; Judge you whether that in his fifteenth year in Parliament at *Westminster* he received not an affront, when the House urged the King to remove and discharge from his Presence the Duke of *Lancaster*, the Lord *Latimer* his Chamberlain, Sir *Richard Stury*, and others whom the King favoured and trusted. Nay, they pressed the King to thrust a certain Lady out of Court, which at that time bare the greatest sway therein.

*Just.*

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*Just.* I will with patience answer your Lordship to the full, and first your Lordship may remember by that which I even now said, that never King had so many gifts as this King had from his Subjects, and it hath never grieved the Subjects of *England* to give to their King, but when they knew there was a devouring Lady, that had her share in all things that passed, and the Duke of *Lancaster* was as scraping as she, that the Chancellor did eat up the people as fast as either of them both. It grieved the Subjects to feed these Cormorants: But my Lord, there are two things by which the Kings of *England* have been prest, (to wit) by their Subjects, and by their own necessities. The Lords in former times were far stronger, more warlike, better followed, living in their Countries, than now they are. Your Lordship may remember in your reading, that there were many Earls could bring into the Field a thousand Barbed Horses, many a Baron five or six hundred Barbed Horses, whereas now very few of them can furnish twenty fit to serve the King. But to say the truth, my Lord, the Justices of Peace in *England*, have opposed the injustices of War in *England*, the Kings Writ runs over all, and the great Seal of *England*, with that of the next Constables, will serve the turn to affront the greatest Lords in *England*, that shall move against the King. The force therefore by which our Kings in former times were troubled is vanished away. But  
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the necessities remain. The People therefore in these latter ages, are no less to be pleased than the Peers; for as the latter are become less, so by reason of the training through *England*, the Commons have all the Weapons in their hand.

*Counf.* Was it not so ever?

*Just.* No, my good Lord; for the Noblemen had in their Armories, to furnish some of them a thousand, some two thousand, some three thousand Men, whereas now there are not many that can arm fifty.

*Counf.* Can you blame them? But I will only answer for my self, between you and me be it spoken; I hold it not safe to maintain so great an Armory or Stable, it might cause me, or any other Nobleman to be suspected, as the preparing of some Innovation.

*Just.* Why so, my Lord, rather to be commended as preparing against all danger of Innovation?

*Counf.* It should be so but call your observation to accompt, and you shall find it as I say, (for indeed) such a jealousy hath been held ever since the time of the Civil Wars over the Military Greatness of our Nobles, as made them have little will to bend their studies that ways: Wherefore let every Man provide according as he is rated in the Muster-Book, you understand me.

*Just.* Very well, my Lord, as what might be replied in the perceiving so much; I have ever (to deal plainly and freely with  
your

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your Lordship) more fear'd at home popular violence, than all the foreign that can be made, for it can never be in the power of any foreign Prince without a Papistical party, either to disorder or endanger his Majesty's Estate.

*Cons.* By this it seems, it is no less dangerous for a King to leave the power in the People, than in the Nobility.

*Just.* My good Lord, the wisdom of our own Age, is the foolishness of another, the time present ought not to be preferr'd to the policy that was, but the policy that was to the time present; so that the power of the Nobility being now withered, and the power of the People in the flower, the care to content them would not be neglected, the way to win them often practis'd, or at least to defend them from oppression. The motive of all dangers that ever this Monarchy hath undone, should be carefully heeded, for this Maxim hath no postern, *Potestas humana radicatur in voluntatibus hominum.* And now, my Lord, for King Edward, it is true, tho' he were not subject to force, yet was he subject to necessity, which because it was violent, he gave way unto it, *Potestas* (saith Pythagoras) *juxta necessitatem habitat.* And it is true, that at the request of the house he discharged and put from him those before named, which done, he had the greatest gift (but one) that ever he received in all his days (to wit) from every Person, Man and Woman, above the age of Fourteen years



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*d.* of old Money; which made many Millions of Groats, worth 6 *d.* of our Money. This he had in general, besides he had of every beneficed Priest, 12 *d.* and of the Nobility and Gentry, I know not how much; for it is not set down. Now my good Lord, what lost the King by satisfying the desires of the Parliament House? for as soon as he had the money in purse, he recalled the Lords, and restored them, and who durst call the King to accompt, when the Assembly were dissolved? *Where the word of a King is, there is power, (saith Ecclesiasticus) who shall say unto him, What dost thou? saith the same Author, For every purpose there is a time, and judgment: The King gave way to the time, and his judgment perswaded him to yield to necessity, Consiliarius nemo melior est quam tempus.*

*Couns.* But yet you see the King was forced to yield to their demands.

*Just.* Doth your Lordship remember the saying of *Monsieur de Lange*? That he that hath profit of the War, hath also the honour of the War, whether it be by battel or retreat, the King you see hath the profit of the Parliament, and therefore the honour also. What other end, had the King than to supply his wants? A wise Man hath evermore respect unto his ends: And the King also knew that it was the love that the People bare him, that they urged the removing of these Lords, there was no Man among them that sought himself in that desire, but they all sought the

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the King, as by the success it appeared. My good Lord, hath it not been ordinary in *England* and *France*, to yield to the demands of Rebels? Did not King *Richard* the Second grant pardon to the outrageous Rogues and Murtherers that followed *Jack Straw*, and *Wat Tyler*, after they had murthered his Chancellor, his Treasurer, Chief Justice, and others? brake open his Exchequer, and committed all manner of outrages and villanies, and why did he do it, but to avoid a greater danger? I say the Kings have then yielded to those that hated them and their estates (to wit) to pernicious Rebels. And yet without dishonour. Shall it be called dishonour for the King to yield to honest desires of his Subjects? No, my Lord, those that tell the King those tales, fear their own dishonour and not the Kings; for the honour of the King is supreme, and being guarded by Justice and Piety, it cannot receive either wound nor stain.

*Couns.* But Sir, what cause have any about our King to fear a Parliament?

*Just.* The same cause that the Earl of *Suffolk* had in *Richard* the Second's time, and the Treasurer *Partham*, with others, for these great Officers being generally hated for abusing both the King and the Subject, at the request of the States were discharged, and others put in their rooms.

*Couns.* And was not this dishonour to the King?

*Just.*

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*Just.* Certainly no, for King *Richard* knew that his Grandfather had done the like, and though the King was in his heart utterly against it, yet had he the profit of this exchange; for *Suffolk* was fined at 20000 marks, and 1000 *l.* lands.

*Counf.* Well Sir, we will speak of those that fear the Parliament some other time: But I pray you go on with that, that happened in the troublesome Reign of *Richard* the Second who succeeded, the Grandfather being dead.

*Just.* That King, my good Lord, was one of the most unfortunate Princes that ever *England* had, he was cruel, extreame prodigal, and wholly carried away with his two Minions, *Suffolk*, and the Duke of *Ireland*, by whose ill advice and others, he was in danger to have lost his estate; which in the end (being led by Men of the like temper) he miserably lost. But for his subsidies he had given him in his first year, being under age, Two tenths, and two Fifteens: In which Parliament, *Alice Pierce*, who was removed in King *Edwards* time, with *Lancaster*, *Latimer*, and *Starrey*, were confiscated and banished. In his Second year at the Parliament at *Glocester*, the King had a mark upon every Sack of Wooll, and 6 *d.* the pound upon Wards. In his third year at the Parliament at *Winchester*, the Commons were spared, and a subsidy given by the better sort, the Dukes gave Twenty marks, and Earls Six marks, Bishops and Abbots with Mitres Six marks, every mark

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mark 13 s. 4 d. and every Knight, Justice Esquire, Sheriff, Parson, Vicar, and Chaplain, paid proportionably according to the Estates.

*Counf.* This methinks was no great matter.

*Just.* It is true, my Lord, but a little money went far in those days: I my self once moved it in Parliament in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*, who desired much to spare the common People, and I did it by her Commandment; but when we cast up the Subsidy-Books, we found the sum but small, when the 30 l. Men were left out. In the beginning of his Fourth year, a Tenth with a Fifteen were granted upon condition, that for one whole year no subsidies should be demanded; but this promise was as suddenly forgotten as made, for in the end of that year, the great subsidy of Poll-money was granted in the Parliament at *Northampton*.

*Counf.* Yea, but there followed the terrible Rebellion of *Baker, Straw, Leicester, Wraist*, and others.

*Just.* That was not the fault of the Parliament, my Lord, it is manifest that the subsidy given was not the cause; for it is plain that the Bondmen of *England* begun it, because they were grievously prest by their Lords in the tenure of Villenage, as also for the hatred they bare to the Lawyers and Attorneys: for the story of those times say, that they destroyed the Houses and Mannors of Men of Law, and such Lawyers as they caught, slew them, and beheaded the Lord

Chief

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Chief Justice; which commotion being once begun, the Head-money was by other Rebels pretended: A Fire is often kindled with a little straw, which oftentimes takes hold of greater Timber, and consumes the whole building: And that this Rebellion was begun by the discontented slaves, (whereof there have been many in elder times the like) is manifest by the Charter of Manumission, which the King granted in *hæc verba*, *Rich. Dei gratiâ, &c. Sciatis quod de gratiâ nostrâ speciali manumissimus, &c.* to which seeing the King was constrained by force of Arms, he revoked the Letters Patents, and made them void, the same revocation being strengthened by the Parliament ensuing in which the King had given him a subsidy upon Woolls, called a *Maletot*: In the same Fourth year was the Lord Treasurer discharged of his Office, and *Hales* Lord of *St. Johns* chosen in his place: In his Fifth year was the Treasurer again changed, and the Staff given to *Segrave*, and the Lord Chancellour was also changed, and the Staff given to the Lord *Scroope*: Which Lord *Scroope* was again in the beginning of his Sixth year turned off, and the King after that he had for a while kept the Seal in his own hand, gave it to the Bishop of *London*, from whom it was soon after taken and bestowed on the Earl of *Suffolk*, who they say had abused the King, and converted the Kings Treasure to his own use. To this the King condescended. And though (saith *Walsingham*) he deserved to lose his life and goods,



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goods; yet he had the favour to go at liberty upon good sureties; and because the King was but young, and that the relief granted was committed to the trust of the Earl of *Arundel*, for the furnishing of the Kings Navy against the *French*.

*Couns.* Yet you see it was a dishonour to the King to have his beloved Chancellour removed.

*Iust.* Truly no, for the King had both his fine 1000 l. Lands, and a subsidy to boot. And though for the present it pleased the King to fancy a Man all the World hated, (the Kings passion overcoming his judgment) yet it cannot be called a dishonour, for the King is to believe the general Council of the Kingdom, and to prefer it before his affection, especially when *Suffolk* was proved to be false even to the King; for were it otherwise, love and affection might be called a frenzie and a madness; for it is the nature of humane passions, that the love bred by fidelity, doth change itself into hatred, when the fidelity is first changed into falshood.

*Couns.* But you see there were thirteen Lords chosen in the Parliament, to have the oversight of the Government under the King.

*Iust.* No, my Lord, it was to have the oversight of those Officers, which (saith the story) had imbezeled, lewdly wasted, and prodigally spent the Kings Treasure, for to the Commission to those Lords, or to any  
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is of them, joyned with the Kings Council, was one of the most royal and most profitable that ever he did, if he had been constant to himself. But my good Lord, Man is the cause of his own misery, for I will repeat the substance of the Commission granted by the King, and confirmed by Parliament, which, whether it had been profitable for the King to have prosecuted, your Lordship may judge. The preamble hath these words : *Whereas our Sovereign Lord the King perceiveth by the grievous complaints of the Lords and Commons of this Realm, that the rents, profits, and revenues of this Realm, by the singular and insufficient counsel and evil Government, as well of some his late great Officers and others, &c. are so much withdrawn, wasted, given, granted, alienated, destroyed, and evil dispended, that he is so much impoverished and void of Treasure and Goods, and the substance of the Crown so much diminished and destroyed, that his estate may not honourably be sustained as appertaineth. The King of his free will at the request of the Lords and Commons, hath ordained William Archbishop of Canterbury, and others, with his Chancellour, Treasurer, Keeper of his Privy-Seal, to survey and examine as well the estate and governance of his house, &c. as of all the rents, and profits, and revenues that to him appertaineth, and to be due, or ought to appertain and be due, &c. And all manner of gifts, grants, alienations and confirmations made by him of Lands, Tenements, Rents, &c. bargained and sold to the prejudice*

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*of him and his Crown, &c. And of his Jewels and Goods which were his Grandfathers at time of his death, &c. and where they be come.*

This is in effect the substance of the Commission, which your Lordship may read large in the Book of Statutes, this Commission being enacted in the tenth year the Kings Reign. Now if such a Commission were in these days granted to the faithful Men that have no interest in the sales, nor purchases, nor in the keeping of Jewels at the Queens death, nor in the obtaining grants of the Kings best Lands, cannot say what may be recovered, and justly recovered; and what says your Lordship, was not this a noble act for the King if it had been followed to effect?

*Couns.* I cannot tell whether it were no, for it gave power to the Commission to examine all the grants.

*Just.* Why my Lord, doth the King grant any thing, that shame's at the examination? are not the Kings grants on record?

*Couns.* But by your leave, it is some dishonour to a King, to have his judgment called in question.

*Just.* That is true, my Lord, but in the or whensoever the like shall be granted in the future, the Kings judgment is not examined, but their knavery that abused the King. Nay, by your favour, the contrary is true, that when a King will suffer him

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## *The Prerogative of Parliam.* 297

self to be eaten up by a company of petty fellows, by himself raised, therein both his judgment and courage is disputed. And if your Lordship will disdain it at your own servants hands, much more ought the great heart of a King to disdain it. And surely, my Lord, it is a greater reason (tho' it undercreep the Law) to tear from the Crown the Ornaments thereof: And it is an infallible maxim, that he that loves not his Majesties Estate, loves not his Person.

*Couns.* How came it then, that the act was not executed?

*Just.* Because these, against whom it was granted, perswaded the King to the contrary: As the Duke of *Ireland*, *Suffolk*, the chief Justice *Tresilian*, and others; yea, that which was lawfully done by the King, and the great Council of the Kingdom, was (by the mastery which *Ireland*, *Suffolk*, and *Tresilian* had over the Kings affections) broken and disavowed. Those that devised to relieve the King, not by any private invention, but by general Council, were by a private and partial assembly adjudged Traytors, and the most honest Judges of the Land, enforced to subscribe to that Judgment. In so much that the Judge *Belknap* plainly told the Duke of *Ireland*, and the Earl of *Suffolk*, when he was constrained to set his hand, plainly told these Lords, that he wanted but a rope, that he might therewith receive a reward for his subscription. And in this

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Council of *Nottingham* was hatched the ruine of those which governed the King, of the Judges by them constrained, of the Lords that loved the King, and sought a reformation, and of the King himself; for though the King found by all the Shrieves of the shires, that the People would not fight against the Lords, whom they thought to be most faithful unto the King, when the Citizens of *London* made the same answer being at that time able to arm 50000 Men and told the Mayor that they would never fight against the Kings Friends, and Defenders of the Realm, when the Lord *Ralph Basset*, who was near the King, told the King boldly, that he would not adventure to have his Head broken for the Duke of *Ireland*s pleasure, when the Lord of *London* told the Earl of *Suffolk* in the Kings presence, that he was not worthy to live, &c. yet would the King in the defence of the destroyers of his estate, lay ambushes to entrap the Lords, when they came upon his faith, yea when all was pacified, and that the King by his Proclamation had cleared the Lords, and promised to produce *Ireland*, *Suffolk*, and the Archbishop of *Tork*, *Tresilian*, and *Bramber*, to answer at the next Parliament, these Men confess, that they durst not appear; and when *Suffolk* fled to *Callice*, and the Duke of *Ireland* to *Chester*, the King caused an Army to be leavied in *Lancashire*, for the safe conduct of the Duke of *Ireland* to his presence, when as the Duke being encountered



tered by the Lords, ran like a coward from his company, and fled into *Holland*. After this was holden a Parliament, which was called, that wrought wonders, in the Eleventh year of this King, wherein the forenamed Lords, the Duke of *Ireland* and the rest, were condemned and confiscated, the Chief Justice hanged, with many others, the rest of the Judges condemned, and banisht, and a tenth and a fifteenth given to the King.

*Couns.* But good Sir, the King was first besieged in the Tower of *London*, and the Lords came to the Parliament, and no Man durst contradict them.

*Just.* Certainly in raising an Army, they committed Treason, and though it appear, that they loved the King, (for they did him no harm, having him in their power) yet our Law doth construe all levying of War without the Kings Commission, and all force raised to be intended for the death and destruction of the King, not attending the sequel. And it is so judged upon good reason, for every unlawful and ill action is supposed to be accompanied with an ill intent. And besides those Lords used too great cruelty, in procuring the sentence of death against divers of the Kings Servants, who were bound to follow and obey their Master and Sovereign Lord in that he commanded.

*Couns.* It is true, and they were also greatly to blame to cause then so many se-

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conds to be put to Death, seeing the principals, *Ireland, Suffolk and York* had escaped them. And what reason had they to seek to inform the State by strong hand? Was not the Kings estate as dear to himself as to them? He that maketh a King know his error manerly and privately, and gives him the best advice, he is discharged before God and his own Conscience. The Lords might have retired themselves, when they saw they could not prevail, and have left the King to his own ways, who had more to lose than they had.

*Just.* My Lord, the taking of Arms cannot be excused in respect of the Law; but this might be said for the Lords, that the King being under years, and being wholly governed by their Enemies, and the Enemies of the Kingdom, and because by those evil Mens perswasions, it was advised, how the Lords should have been murdered at a feast in *London*, they were excusable during the Kings minority to stand upon their guard against their particular Enemies. But we will pass over and go on with our Parliaments that followed, whereof that of *Cambridge* in the Kings 12th year was the next, therein the King had given him a 10th and a 13th after which being Twenty years of Age, recharged (saith *H. Knighton*) his Treasurer, his Chancellour, the Justices of either Bench, the Clerk of the Privy Seal and others, and took the Government into his own hands.

He

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He also took the Admirals place from the Earl of *Arundel*, and in his room he placed the Earl of *Huntingdon* in the year following, which was the 13<sup>th</sup> year of the King. In the Parliament at *Westminster* there was given to the King upon every Sack of Wool 14 s. and 6 d. in the pound upon other Merchandise.

*Counf.* By your leave, the King was restrained this Parliament, that he might not dispose of but a Third part of the Money gathered.

*Just.* No my Lord, by your favour. But true it is, that part of this Money was by the Kings consent assigned towards the Wars, but yet left in the Lord Treasurers hands; and my Lord, it would be a great ease, and a great saving to his Majesty, our Lord and Master, if it pleased him to make his assignments upon some part of his Revenues, by which he might have 1000 l. upon every 10000 l. and save himself a great deal of clamour. For seeing of necessity the Navy must be maintained, and that those poor Men as well Carpenters as Ship-keepers must be paid, it were better for his Majesty to give an Assignment to the Treasurer of his Navy for the receiving of so much as is called ordinary, than to discontent those poor Men, who being made desperate beggars, may perchance be corrupted by them that lie in wait to destroy the Kings estate. And if his Majesty did the like in all other payments, especially where the necessity of such as are to receive, cannot possibly give days, his Majesty might then

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then in a little rowle behold his receipts and expences, he might quiet his heart when all necessaries were provided for, and then dispose the rest at his pleasure. And my good Lord, how excellently and easily might this have been, if the 40000 *l.* had been raised as aforesaid upon the Kings Lands, and Wards. I say that his Majesties House, his Navy, his Guards, his Pensioners, his Munition, his Ambassadours, and all else of ordinary charge might have been defrayed, and a great sum left for his Majesties casual expences and rewards. I will not say they were not in love with the Kings Estate, but I say they were unfortunately born for the King that crost it.

*Couns.* Well, Sir, I would it had been otherwise: But for the assignments, there are among us that will not willingly endure it. Charity begins with it self, shall we hinder our selves of 50000 *l. per annum* to save the King 20? No, Sir, what will become of our New-years-gifts, our Presents and Gratuities? We can now say to those that have Warrants for Money, That there is not a Penny in the Exchequer, but the King gives it away unto the Scots faster than it comes in.

*Just.* My Lord, you say well, at least you say the truth, that such are some of our answers, and hence comes that general murmur to all Men that have Money to receive, I say that there is not a penny given to that Nation, be it for service or otherwise, but is spread



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spread over all the Kingdom: yea they gather notes, and take copies of all the Privy Seals and Warrants that his Majesty hath given for the Money for the Scots, that they may shew them in Parliament. But of his Majesties gifts to the English, there is no bruit, though they may be Ten times as much as the Scots. And yet my good Lord, howsoever they be thus answered, that to them that sue for Money out of the Exchequer, it is due to them for Ten, or Twelve, or Twenty in the Hundred, abated according to their qualities that sue, they are always furnished. For conclusion, if it would please God to put into the Kings heart to make their assig-nations, it would save him many a Pound, and gain him many a Prayer, and a great deal of love, for it grieveth every honest Mans heart to see the abundance which even the petty Officers of the Exchequer, and others gather both from the King and Subject, and to see a world of Poor Men run after the King for their ordinary wages.

*Couns.* Well, well, did you never hear this old tale, that when there was a great Contention about the weather, the Seamen complaining of contrary winds, when those of the high Countries desired rain, and those of the valleys Sun-shining days, *Jupiter* sent them word by *Mercury*, that, when they had all done, the weather should be as it had been. And it shall ever fall out so with them that complain, the course of payments shall be as they have been, what care we what petty



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fellows say? or what care we for your papers? have we not the Kings Ears, who dares contest with us? though we cannot be revenged on such as you are for telling the truth, yet upon some other pretence, we'll clap you up, and you shall sue to us ere you get out. Nay, we'll make you confess that you were deceived in your projects, and eat your own words: Learn this of me, Sir, that as a little good fortune is better than a great deal of virtue: so the least authority hath advantage over the greatest wit, Was he not the wisest Man that said, *The Battel was not the strongest, nor yet bread for the wise, nor riches to Men of understanding, nor favour to Men of knowledge:* But what time and chance came to them all.

*Just.* It is well for your Lordship that it is so. But *Qu. Elizabeth* would set the reason of a mean Man, before the authority of the greatest Councillor she had, and by her patience therein she raised upon the usual and ordinary customs of *London* without any new Imposition above 50000 l. a year. For though the Treasurer *Burleigh*, and the Earl of *Leicester*, and Secretary *Walsingham*, all Three Pensioners to Customer *Smith*, did set themselves against a poor Waiter of the Custom-House called *Carwarden*, and commanded the Grooms of the Privy Chamber not to give him access, yet the Queen sent for him, and gave him countenance against them all. It would not serve the turn, my Lord, with her; when your Lordships would tell her, That the disgracing her great Officers by  
hearing

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hearing the complaints of busie heads, was a dishonour to her self; but she had always this answer, That if any Men complain unjustly against a Magistrate, it were reason he should be severely punished; if justly, she was Queen of the small, as well as of the great, and would hear their complaints. For my good Lord, a Prince that suffereth himself to be besieged, forsaketh one of the greatest regalities belonging to a Monarchy, to wit, the last appeal, or as the French call it, *le dernier resort*.

*Couns.* Well Sir, this from the matter, I pray you go on.

*Just.* Then my Lord, in the Kings Fifteenth year he had a tenth and Fifteen granted in Parliament of London. And that same year there was a great Council called at Stamford, to which divers Men were sent for, of divers Counties, besides the Nobility; of which the King took advice whether he should continue the War, or make a final end with the French.

*Couns.* What needed the King to take the advice of any but of his own Council in matter of Peace or War?

*Just.* Yea, my Lord, for it is said in the Proverbs, *Where is many Counsellors, there is health*. And if the King had made the War by a general consent, the Kingdom in general were bound to maintain the War, and they could not then say when the King required aid, that he undertook a needless War.

*Couns.*

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*Counf.* You say well, but I pray you  
on.

*Iust.* After the subsidy in the Fifteenth  
year, the King desired to borrow 10000 *l.*  
the Londoners, which they refused to lend.

*Counf.* And was not the King greatly trou-  
bled therewith?

*Iust.* Yea, but the King troubled the Lon-  
doners soon after, for the King took the ad-  
vantage of a riot made upon the Bishop of  
*Salisbury's* Men, sent for the Mayor, and  
other the ablest Citizens, committed the May-  
or to prison in the Castle of *Windsor*, and  
others to other Castles, and made a Lord  
Warden of this City, till in the end what  
with 10000 *l.* ready Money, and other rich  
presents, in stead of lending 10000 *l.* it cost  
them 20000 *l.* Between the Fifteenth year  
and Twentieth year, he had two aids given  
him in the Parliaments of *Winchester* and  
*Westminster* : And this latter was given to fur-  
nish the Kings journey into *Ireland*, to esta-  
blish that estate which was greatly shaken  
since the death of the Kings Grandfather,  
who received thence yearly 30000 *l.* and du-  
ring the Kings stay in *Ireland* he had a 10th  
and Fifteenth granted.

*Counf.* And good reason, for the King had  
in his Army 4000 horse, and 30000 foot.

*Iust.* That, by your favour, was the Kings  
safery : For great Armies do rather devour  
themselves than destroy Enemies. Such an  
Army, (whereof the Fourth Part would  
have conquered all *Ireland*) was in respect of  
*Ireland*

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*Ireland* such an Army as *Xerxes* led into *Greece*. In this Twentieth year, wherein he had a Tenth of the Clergy, was the great Conspiracy of the Kings Uncle the Duke of *Gloucester*, and of *Moubrey*, *Arundel*, *Nottingham*, and *Warwick*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Abbot of *Westminster*, and others, who in the one and Twentieth year of the King were all redeemed by Parliament. And what thinks your Lordship, was not this assembly of the Three states for the Kings estate, wherein he so prevailed, that he not only overthrew those popular Lords, but besides (the English Chronicle saith) the King so wrought and brought things about, that he obtained the power of both Houses to be granted to certain persons, to Fifteen Noblemen and Gentlemen, or to seven of them.

*Couns.* Sir, Whether the King wrought well or ill I cannot judge, but our Chronicles say, that many things were done in this Parliament, to the displeasure of no small number of People, to wit, for that divers rightful heirs were disinherited of their lands and livings, with which wrongful doings the People were much offended, so that the King with those that were about him, and chief in Counsel, came into great infamy and slander.

*Just.* My good Lord, if your Lordship will pardon me, I am of opinion that those Parliaments wherein the Kings of this Land have satisfied the People, as they have been  
ever

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ever prosperous, so where the King hath restrained the house, the contrary hath happened, for the Kings achievements in the Parliament, were the ready preparations to his ruin.

*Counf.* You mean by the general discontentment that followed, and because the King did not proceed legally with Gloucester and others. Why Sir, this was not the first time that the Kings of England have done things without the Council of the Land: yea, contrary to Law.

*Just.* It is true, my Lord, in some particulars, as even at this time the Duke of Gloucester was made away at Callice by strong hand, without any lawful trial: for he was a Man so beloved of the People, and so allied, having the Dukes of Lancaster, and York his Brethren, the Duke of Aquitaine, and the Duke of Hereford his Nephews, the great Earls of Arundel and Warwick, with divers others of his part in the Conspiracy, as the King durst nor try him according to the Law: For at the tryal of Arundel and Warwick, the King was forced to entertain a pretty Army about him. And though the Duke was greatly lamented, yet it cannot be denied but that he was then a Traytor to the King. And was it not so, my Lord, with the Duke of Guise? Your Lordship doth remember the spur-gall'd Proverb, that *Necessity hath no Law*: And my good Lord, it is the practice of doing wrong, and of general wrong done, that brings danger, and not where Kings are prest in this or that particular,



ular, for there is great difference between natural cruelty and accidental. And therefore it was *Marbionels* advice, That all that a King did in that kind, he shall do at once, and by his mercy afterwards make the World know that his cruelty was not affected. And my Lord, take this for a general rule, That the Immortal Policy of a State cannot admit any Law or Priviledge whatsoever, but in some particular or other, the same is necessarily broken, yea in an *Aristocracy* or popular estate, which vaunts so much of equality and common right; more outrage hath been committed than in any Christian Monarchy.

*Couns.* But whence came this hatred between the Duke and the King his Nephew?

*Just.* My Lord, the Dukes constraining the King, when he was young, stuck in the Kings heart, and now the Dukes proud speech to the King when he had rendred *Brest* formerly engaged to the Duke of *Brittain*, kindled again these Coals that were not altogether extinguished, for he used these words: *Your Grace ought to put your body in great pain to win a strong Hold or Town by feats of Arms, ere you take upon you to sell or deliver any Town gotten by the manhood and strong hand and policy of your Noble Progenitors.* Whereat, saith the story, the King changed his countenance, &c. and to say truth, it was a proud and masterly speech of the Duke; besides that inclusively he taxed him of sloth and cowardise, as if he had never put himself to the adventure of winning such a place.

Undutiful

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Undutiful words of a Subject do often take deeper root than the memory of ill deeds do : The Duke of *Biron* found it when the King had him at advantage. Yea, the late Earl of *Essex* told Queen *Elizabeth* that her conditions were as crooked as her Carcass : But it cost him his head, which his Insurrection had not cost him but for that speech. *Who will say unto a King, (saith Job) Thou art wicked?* Certainly it is the same thing to say unto a Lady, *Thou art crooked, (and perchance more)* as to say unto a King that he is wicked : and to say that he is a Coward, or to use any other words of disgrace, it is one and the same error.

*Couns.* But what say you for *Arundel*, a brave and valiant Man, who had the Kings pardon of his contempt during his minority.

*Just.* My good Lord, the Parliament which you say disputes the Kings Prerogative, did quite contrary, and destroyed the Kings Charter and pardon formerly given to *Arundel*. And my good Lord, do you remember, that at the parliament that wrought wonders, when these Lords compounded that Parliament, as the King did this, they were so merciless towards all that they thought their enemies, as the Earl of *Arundel* most insolently suffered the Queen to kneel unto him three hours for the saving of one of her servants, and that scorn of his *manebat alta monte repositum*. And to say the truth, it is more barbarous and unpardonable than any act that

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that ever he did, to permit the Wife of his Sovereign to kneel to him being the Kings Vassal. For if he had saved her Lords servant freely at her first request, it is like enough that the Queen would also have saved him, *Miseris succurrens paria obtinebis aliquando*: For your Lordship sees that the Earl of *Warwick*, who was as far in the Treason as any of the rest, was pardoned. It was also at this Parliament that the Duke of *Hereford*, accused *Moubray* Duke of *Norfolk*, and that the Duke of *Hereford*, Son to the Duke of *Lancaster*, was banished to the Kings confusion; as your Lordship well knows.

*Counf.* I know it well, and God knows, that the King had then a silly and weak Council about him, that perswaded him to banish a Prince of the blood, a most valiant Man, and the best beloved of the People in general of any Man living, especially considering that the King gave every day more than other offence to his subjects. For besides that, he fined the Inhabitants that assisted the Lords in his Minority, (of the seventeen shires) which offence he had long before pardoned, his blank Charters, and letting the Realm to farm to mean Persons, by whom he was wholly advised, increased the Peoples hatred toward the present Government.

*Iust.* You say well, my Lord, Princes of an ill destiny do always follow the worst counsel, or at least imbrace the best after opportunity is lost. *Qui consilia non ex suo corde*  
*sed*

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*sed alienis viribus colligunt, non animo sed viribus cogitant.* And this was not the least grief of the Subject in general, that those Men had the greatest part of the spoil of the Commonwealth which neither by virtue, valour or counsel could add any thing unto it—*Nihil est sordidius, nihil crudelius* (saith *Anco. Pius*) *quam se Remp. in arradunt, qui nihil in eam suo labore conferunt.*

*Couns.* Indeed the letting to farm the Realm was very grievous to the Subject.

*Just.* Will your Lordship pardon me, if I tell you that the letting to farm of his Majesties Customs (the greatest revenue of the Realm) is not very pleasing?

*Couns.* And why, I pray you? doth not the King thereby raise his profits every third year, and one Farmer outbids another to the Kings advantage?

*Just.* It is true, my Lord, but it grieves the Subject to pay Custom to the Subject; for what mighty Men are those Farmers become? and if those Farmers get many thousands every year, as the World knows they do, why should they not now (being Men of infinite Wealth) declare unto the King upon Oath, what they have gained, and henceforth become the Kings Collectors of his Custom? Did not Queen *Elizabeth*, who was reputed both a wise and just Princess, after she had brought *Customer Smith* from 14000 £ a year to 42000 £ a year, make him lay down a recompence for that which he had gotten? and if these Farmers do give no recompence,

let



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let them yet present the King with the truth of their receivings and profits. But my Lord for conclusion, after *Bullingbrook*, arriving in *England* with a small troop, notwithstanding the King at his landing out of *Ireland*, had a sufficient and willing Army, yet he wanting courage to defend his right, gave leave to all his Souldiers to depart, and put himself into his hands that cast him into his grave.

*Couns.* Yet you see he was deposed by Parliament.

*Just.* As well may your Lordship say he was knockt in the Head by Parliament, for your Lordship knows that if King *Richard* had ever escaped out of their Fingers that deposed him, the next Parliament would have made all the depoters Traytors and Rebels, and that justly. In which Parliament, or rather unlawful assembly, there appeared but one honest Man, to wit, the B. of *Carlisle*, who scorned his life, and estate, in respect of right and his Allegiance, and defended the right of his Sovereign Lord against the King elect and his partakers.

*Couns.* Well, I pray go on with the Parliaments held in the time of his Successor *Henry the Fourth*.

*Just.* This King had in this Third year a subsidy, and in his Fifth a Tenth of the Clergy without a Parliament. In his Sixth year he had so great a subsidy, as the House required there might be no record thereof left to posterity, for the House gave him 20 s. of every



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every Knights Fee, and of every 20 l. land 20 d. and 12 d. the pound of goods.

*Couns.* Yea in the end of this year, the Parliament prest the King to annex unto the Crown all temporal possessions belonging to Church-men within the land, which at that time, was the third foot of all *England*. But the Bishops made friends, and in the end saved their estates.

*Just.* By this you see, my Lord, that *Cromwel* was not the first that thought on such a business. And if King *Henry* the Eighth had reserved the Abbies, and other Church-lands, which he had given at that time, the revenue of the Crown of *England* had exceeded the revenue of the Crown of *Spain*, with both the *Indies*, whereas used as it was (a little enriched the Crown) served but to make a number of Pettifoggers, and others Gentlemen.

*Couns.* But what had the King instead of this great revenue?

*Just.* He had a fifteenth of the Commons, and a tenth and a half of the Clergy, and withal all pensions granted by King *Edward*, and King *Richard* were made void. It was also moved that all Crown-Lands formerly given (at least given by King *Edward* and King *Richard*) should be taken back.

*Couns.* What think you of that, Sir? would it not have been a dishonour to the King? and would not his Successors have done the like to those that the King had advanced?

*Just.* I cannot answer your Lordship, but by distinguishing, for where the Kings had given

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given Land for services, and had not been over-reached in their gifts, there it had been a dishonour to the King, to have made void the grants of his Predecessors, or his grants, but all those grants of the Kings, wherein they were deceived, the very custom and policy of *England* makes them void at this day.

*Counf.* How mean you that, for his Majesty hath given a great deal of Land among us since he came into *England*, and would it stand with the Kings honour to take it from us again?

*Just.* Yea my Lord, very well with the Kings honour, if your Lordship, or any Lord else, have under the name of 100 *l.* land a year, gotten 500 *l.* land, and so after that rate.

*Counf.* I will never believe that his Majesty will ever do any such thing.

*Just.* And I believe as your Lordship doth, but we spake ere-while of those that dissuaded the King from Calling a Parliament: And your Lordship asked me the reason, why any Man should dissuade it, or fear it, to which, this place gives me an opportunity to make your Lordship answer, for though his Majesty will of himself never question those grants, yet when the Commons shall make humble petition to the King in Parliament, that it will please his Majesty to assist them in his relief, with that which ought to be his own, which, if it will please his Majesty to yield unto, the house will most willingly

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lingly furnish and supply the rest; with what grace can his Majesty deny that honest suit of theirs the like having been done in many Kings times before? This proceeding, my good Lord, may perchance prove all your Phrases of the Kings honour, false English.

*Couns.* But this cannot concern many, and for my self, I am sure it concerns me little.

*Just.* It is true, my Lord, and there are not many that dissuade his Majesty from Parliament.

*Couns.* But they are great ones, a few of which will serve turn well enough.

*Just.* But my Lord, be they never so great (as great as Giants) yet if they dissuade the King from his ready and assured way of his subsistence, they must devise how the King may be elsewhere supplied, for they otherwise run into a dangerous fortune.

*Couns.* Hold you contented, Sir, the King needs no great dissuasion.

*Just.* My Lord, learn of me, that there is none of you all that can pierce the King. It is an essential property of a man truly wise, not to open all the boxes of his bosom, even to those that are nearest and dearest unto him, for when a Man is discovered to the very bottom, he is after the less esteemed. I dare undertake, that when your Lordship hath served the King twice twelve years more, you will find that his Majesty hath reserved somewhat beyond all your capacities. His Majesty hath great reason to put off the Parliament, as his last refuge, and in the mean time,

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time, to make trayal of all your loves to serve him, for his Majesty hath had good experience, how well you can serve your selves: But when the King finds, that the building of your own fortunes and factions, hath been the diligent studies, and the service of his Majesty, but the exercises of your leisures, he may then perchance cast himself upon the general love of his People: of which (I trust) he shall never be deceived, and leave as many of your Lordships as have pilfered from the Crown, to their examination.

*Counf.* Well, Sir, I take no great pleasure in this dispute, go on I pray.

*Iust.* In that Kings Fifteenth year, he had also a subsidy, which he got by holding the house together from *Easter*, to *Christmas*, and would not suffer them to depart. He had also a subsidy in his Ninth year. In his Eleventh year the Commons did again press the King to take all the Temporalities of the Churchmen into his hands, which they proved sufficient to maintain 150 Earls, 1500 Knights, and 6400 Esquires, with 100 Hospitals; but not prevailing, they gave the King a subsidy.

As for the notorious Prince, *Henry* the Fifth, I find, that he had given him in his Second year 300000 marks, and after that Two other subsidies, one in his Fifth year, another in his Ninth, without any disputes.

In the time of his Successor *Henry* the Sixth, there were not many subsidies. In his Third year he had a subsidy of a Tunnage and Poundage.

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dage. And here (saith *John Stow*) began those payments, which we call Customs; because the payment was continued, whereas before that time it was granted but for a year. Two or Three, according to the Kings occasions. He had also an aid and gathering of Money in his Fourth year, and the like in his Tenth year, and in his Thirteenth year a Fifteenth. He had also a Fifteenth for the conveying of the Queen out of *France* into *England*. In the Twenty Eighth year of that King was the act of Resumption of all Honours, Towns, Castles, Seignouries, Villages, Mannors, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Reversions, Fees, &c. But because the Wages of the Kings Servants, were by the strickness of the act also restrained, this act of Resumption was expounded in the Parliament at *Reading* the one and Thirtieth year of the Kings Reign.

*Couns.* I perceive that those acts of Resumption were ordinary in former times; for King *Stephen* resumed the Lands, which in former times he had given to make friends during the Civil Wars. And *Henry* the Second resumed all (without exception) which King *Stephen* had not resumed; for although King *Stephen* took back a great deal, yet he suffered his trustiest Servants to enjoy his gift.

*Just.* Yes, my Lord, and in after times also; for this was not the last, nor shall be the last, I hope. And judge you, my Lord, whether the Parliaments do not only serve the

the



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the King, whatsoever is said to the contrary; for as all King *Henry* the Sixth's gifts and grants were made void by the Duke of *York* when he was in possession of the Kingdom by Parliament, so in the time of King *Henry*, when King *Edward* was beaten out again, the Parliament of *Westminster* made all his Acts void, made him and all his followers Traytors, and gave the King many of their Heads and Lands. The Parliaments of *England* do always serve the King in possession. It served *Richard* the Second to condemn the popular Lords. It served *Bullinbrook* to depose *Richard*, when *Edward* the Fourth had the Scepter. It made them all beggars that had followed *Henry* the Sixth. And it did the like for *Henry*, when *Edward* was driven out. The Parliaments are, as the friendship of this World is, which always followeth prosperity. For King *Edward* the Fourth, after that he was possessed of the Crown, had in his Thirteenth year a subsidy freely given him: and in the year following he took a benevolence through *England*, which arbitrary taking from the People, served that ambitious Traytor the Duke of *Bucks*. After the Kings death was a plausible argument to perswade the multitude, that they should not permit (saith *Sir Thomas Moore*) his line to reign any longer upon them.

*Commf.* Well Sir, what say you to the Parliament of *Richard* the Third in his time?

*Just.* I find but one, and therein he made divers good Laws. For King *Henry* the

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Seventh in the beginning of his third year, had by Parliament an aid granted unto him towards the relief of the Duke of Brittain then assailed by the French King. And although the King did not enter into the War but by the advice of the Three Estates, who did willingly contribute: Yet those Northern Men which loved *Richard* the third raised rebellion under colour of the money impos'd, and murdered the Earl of *Northumberland* whom the King employed in that Collection. By which your Lordship sees, that it hath not been for taxes and imposition alone, that the ill disposed have taken Arms but even for those payments which have been appointed by Parliament.

*Couns.* And what became of these Rebels?

*Iust.* They were fairly hanged, and the money levied notwithstanding. In the Kings first year he gathered a marvellous great Mass of money, by a benevolence, taking pattern by this kind of levy from *Edward* the fourth. But the King caused it first to be moved in Parliament, where it was allowed, because the poorer sort were therein spared. Yet it is true, that the King used some art, for in his Letters he declared that he would measure every Mans affections by his gifts. In the thirteenth year he had also a subsidy, whereupon the Cornish Men took Arms, as the Northern Men of the Bishoprick had done in the third year of the King.

*Couns.*

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*Couns.* It is without Example, that ever the People have rebelled for any thing granted by Parliament, save in this Kings days.

*Just.* Your Lordship must consider, that he was not over-much beloved, for he took many advantages upon the People and the Nobility both.

*Couns.* And I pray you what say they now of the new Impositions lately laid by the Kings Majesty? do they say that they are justly or unjustly laid?

*Just.* To impose upon all things brought into the Kingdom is very ancient: Which imposing when it hath been continued a certain time, is then called Customs, because the Subjects are accustomed to pay it, and yet the great Tax upon Wine is still called Impost, because it was imposed after the ordinary rate of payment had lasted many years. But we do now a days understand those things to be Impositions, which are raised by the command of Princes, without the advice of the Commonwealth, though (as I take it) much of that which is now called custom, was at the first imposed by Prerogative Royal. Now whether it be time or consent that makes them just, I cannot define. Were they unjust because new, and not justifiable yet by time, or unjust because they want a general consent, yet is this rule of Aristotle verified in respect of his Majesty.

*Minus timent homines injustum pati à principe quem cultorem Dei putant.* Yea, my Lord,

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they are also the more willingly born, because all the World knows they are no new Invention of the Kings. And if those that advised his Majesty to impose them; had raised his Lands (as it was offered them) 20000 *l.* more than it was, and his Wards as much as aforesaid, they had done him far more acceptable service. But they had their own ends in refusing the one, and accepting the other. If the Land had been raised, they could not have selected the best of it for themselves: If the Impositions had not been laid, some of them could not have their silk or other pieces in farm, which indeed grieved the Subject Ten times more than that which his Majesty enjoyeth. But certainly they made a great advantage that were the advisers, for if any tumult had followed, his Majesties ready way had been to have delivered them over to the People.

*Couns.* But think you that the King would have delivered them, if any troubles had followed?

*Just.* I know not, my Lord, it was *Machiavels* counsel to *Cesar Borgia* to do it, and King *Henry* the Eighth delivered up *Empson* and *Dudley*: Yea, the same King, when the great Cardinal *WOOLSEY*, who governed the King and all his Estate, had (by requiring the Sixth part of every Mans goods for the King) raised a Rebellion, the King I say disavowed him absolutely; that had not the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* appeased the People, the Cardinal had sung no more Mass:

for



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for these are the words of our Story: The King then came to *Westminster* to the Cardinals Palace, and assembled there a great Council, in which he protested, That his mind was never to ask any thing of his Commons which might sound to the breach of his Laws. Wherefore he then willed them to know by whose means they were so strictly given forth. Now my Lord, how the Cardinal would have shifed himself, by saying, I had the opinion of the Judges, had not the rebellion been appeased, I greatly doubt.

*Counſ.* But good Sir, you blanch my question, and answer me by examples. I ask you whether or no in any such tumult, the People pretending against any one or two great Officers, the King should deliver them, or defend them?

*Just.* My good Lord, the People have not staid for the King's delivery, neither in *England*, nor in *France*; Your Lordship knows how the Chancellor, Treasurer, and Chief Justice, with many others at several times have been used by the Rebels: And the Marshals, Constables, and Treasurers in *France*, have been cut in pieces in *Charles* the Sixth's time. Now to your Lordships question, I say, that where any Man shall give a King perilous advice, as may either cause a Rebellion, or draw the Peoples love from the King, I say, that a King shall be advised to Banish him: But if the King do absolutely command his Servant to do any thing displeasing to the Common-wealth, and to his



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own peril, there is the King bound in honour to defend him. But my good Lord for conclusion, there is no Man in *England* that will lay any invention either grievous or against Law upon the Kings Majesty: and therefore your Lordships must share it amongst you.

*Couns.* For my part, I had no hand in it, (I think) *Ingram* was he that propounded it to the Treasurer.

*Just.* Alas, my good Lord, every poor Waiter in the Custom-house, or every Promooter might have done it, there is no invention in these things. To lay impositions, and sell the Kings Lands, are poor and common devices. It is true that *Ingram* and his fellows are odious Men, and therefore his Majesty pleas'd the People greatly to put him from the Coffer-ship. It is better for a Prince to use such a kind of Men, than to countenance them; Hang-men are necessary in a Commonwealth, yet in the *Netherlands*, none but a hangmans Son would Marry a hangmans daughter. Now my Lord, the last gathering which *Henry* the Seventh made, was in the Twentieth year, wherein he had another Benevolence both of the Clergy and Laity, a part of which taken of the poorer sort, he ordained by his Testament that it should be restored. And for King *Henry* the Eighth, although he was left in a most plentiful estate, yet he wonderfully prest his People with great payments; for in the beginning of his time, it was infinite that he spent in  
Masking

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Masking and Tilting, Banqueting, and other vanities, before he was entred into the most consuming expence of the most fond and fruitless War that ever King undertook. In his Fourth year he had one of the greatest subsidies that ever was granted; for besides Two Fifteens and two dismes, he used *David's* Law of Capitation of head-Money, and had of every Duke Ten Marks, of every Earl five Pounds, of every Lord Four Pounds, of every Knight Four Marks, and every Man rated at Eight Pound in Goods Four Marks, and so after the rate: yea, every Man that was valued but at Forty Pound, paid Twelve pence, and every Man and Woman above Fifteen years, Four pence. He had also in his Sixth year divers Subsidies granted him. In his Fourteenth there was a Tenth demanded of every Mans Goods, but it was moderated. In the Parliament following, the Clergy gave the King the half of their Spiritual livings for one year, and of the Laity there was demanded 800000*l.* which could not be levied in *England*, but it was a marvellous great Gift that the King had given him at that time. In the Kings Seventeenth year was the Rebellion before Spoken of, wherein the King disavowed the Cardinal: In his Seventeenth year, he had a Tenth and Fifteenth given by Parliament, which were before that time paid to the Pope. And before that also the Money that the King borrowed in his Fifteenth year were forgiven him by Parliament in his Seventeenth year.

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In his Thirty Fifth year a Subsidy was granted of Four pence the pound of every Man worth in goods from 20s. to 5 l. from 5 l. to 10 l. and upward of every pound 2s. And all strangers, denizens and others double this Sum, strangers not being inhabitants above Sixteen years 4d. a head. All that he Lands, Fees, and Annuities, from 20. to and so double as they did for goods: And the Clergy gave 6d. the Pound. In the Thirty seventh year, a Benevolence was taken not voluntary, but rated by Commissioners, which because one of the Aldermen refused to pay, he was sent for a Soldier into Scotland. He had also another great Subsidy of Six shillings the pound of the Clergy, and Two shillings Eight pence of the goods of the Laity, and Four shillings the Pound upon Lands.

In the Second year of *Edward* the Sixth the Parliament gave the King an aid of Twelve pence the Pound of goods of his Natural Subjects, and two shillings the Pound of strangers, and this to continue for three years, and by the Statute of the second and Third of *Edward* the sixth, it may appear the same Parliament did also give a second aid, as followeth (to wit) of every Ewe kept in several Pastures, three pence, of every Weather kept as aforesaid two pence, of every Sheep kept in the Common three half pence. The House gave the King also Eight pence the Pound of every woollen Cloath made for the sale throughout *England* for Three years.

In

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In the Third and Fourth of the King, by reason of the troublesome gathering of the Pole money upon Sheep, and the Tax upon Cloth this Act of Subsidy was repeal'd and other relief given the King, and in the Seventh year he had a Subsidy and Two Fifteenths.

In the first year of Queen Mary, tunnage and poundage were granted: In the second year a Subsidy was given to King Philip, and to the Queen, she had also a third Subsidy in *Annis 4 & 5.*

*Elix. Reg.* Now my Lord, for the Parliaments of the late Queens time, in which nothing new, neither Head-mony, Sheep-mony, escuage, nor any of these kinds of payments was required, but only the ordinary Subsidies, and those as easily granted as demanded, I shall not need to trouble your Lordship with any of them, neither can I inform your Lordship of all the passages and acts which have passed, for they are not extant, nor Printed,

*Couns.* No, it were but time lost to speak of the latter, and by those that are already remembred, we may judge of the rest, for those of the greatest importance are publick. But I pray you deal freely with me, what you think would be done for his Majesty, if he should call a Parliament at this time, or what would be required at his Majesties hands?

*Just.* The first thing that would be required, would be the same that was required by the Commons in the Thirteenth year of Henry the Eighth (to wit) that if any Man of the



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Commons house should speak more largely than of Duty he ought to do; all such offences to be pardoned, and that to be of Record.

*Couns.* So might every Companion speak of the King what they list.

*Just.* No my Lord, the reverence which a Vassal oweth to his Sovereign is always intended for every speech; howsoever it must import the Good of the King, and his estate, and so long it may be easily pardoned, otherwise not; for in Queen *Elizabeths* time who gave freedom of speech in all Parliaments, when *Wentworth* made those motions, that were but supposed dangerous to the Queens estate, he was imprisoned in the Tower, notwithstanding the Priviledge of the house, and there dyed.

*Couns.* What say you to the *Sicilian Vespers* remembred in the last Parliament?

*Just.* I say he repented him heartily that used that speech, and indeed besides that it was seditious, this example held not. The *French* in *Sicily* usurped that Kingdom, they neither kept law nor faith; they took away the Inheritance of the Inhabitants, they took from them their Wives, and ravished their Daughters, committing all other Insolencies that could be imagined. The Kings Majesty is the natural Lord of *England*, his Vassals of *Scotland* obey the *English* Laws, if they break them, they are punished without respect. Yea, his Majesty put one of his Barons to a shameful Death, for being consenting  
only



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only to the Death of a Common Fencer : And which of these ever did or durst commit any outrage in *England*, but to say the truth, the opinion of packing the list, was the cause of the contention and disorder that happened.

*Couns.* Why Sir? do you not think it best to compound a Parliament of the Kings Servants and others that shall in all obey the Kings desires?

*Just.* Certainly no, for it hath never succeeded well, neither on the Kings part, nor on the Subjects, as by the Parliament before remembered, your Lordship may gather, for from such a composition do arise all jealousies and all contentions. It was practised in elder times, to the great trouble of the Kingdom, and to the loss and ruine of many. It was of latter time used by King *Henry* the Eighth, but every way to his disadvantage. When the King leaves himself to his People, they assure themselves they are trusted and beloved of their Kings, and there was never any assembly so barbarous, as not to answer the love and trust of their King. *Henry* the Sixth when his estate was in effect utterly overthrown, and utterly impoverished, at the humble request of his Treasurer made the same known to the House: Or otherwise, using the Treasurers own words, He humbly desired the King to take his staff, that he might save his wardship.

*Couns.* But you know, they will presently be in hand with those impositions, which  
the:

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the King hath laid by his own Royal Prerogative.

*Just.* Perchance not, my Lord; but rather with those impositions that have been by some of your Lordships laid upon the King, which did not some of your Lordships fear more than you do the impositions laid upon the Subjects, you would never dissuade his Majesty from a Parliament: For no man doubted, but that his Majesty was advised to lay those impositions by his Council, and for particular things on which they were laid, the advice came from petty fellows (though now great ones) belonging to the Custom-house. Now my Lord, what prejudice hath his Majesty (his Revenue being kept up) if the Impositions that were laid, were laid by the general Council of the Kingdom, which takes off all grudging and complaint.

*Counf.* Yea Sir, but that which is done by the King, with the advices of his Private or Privy Council, is done by the Kings absolute power.

*Just.* And by whose power is it done in Parliament, but by the Kings absolute power? Mistake it not my Lord: The three Estates do but advise, as the Privy Council doth, which advice if the King embrace, it becomes the Kings own Act in the one, and the Kings Law in the other; for without the Kings acceptation, both the publick and private advices be but as empty Egg-shells: and what doth his Majesty lose, if some of those things, which

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which concern the poorer sort, be made free again, and the Revenue kept up upon that which is superfluous? Is it a loss to the King to be beloved of the Commons? If it be revenue which the King seeks is not it better to take it of those that laugh, than those that cry? Yea, if all be content to pay upon moderation and change of the Species, is it not more Honourable and more safe for the King, that the Subject pay by perswasion, than to have them constrained? If they be contented to whip themselves for the King, were it not better to give them the Rod into their hands, than to commit them to the Executioner? Certainly it is far more happy for a Sovereign Prince, that a Subject open his Purse willingly, than that the same be opened by violence. Besides, that when Impositions are laid by Parliament, they are gathered by the authority of the Law, which (as aforesaid) rejecteth all complaints, and stoppeth every mutinous Mouth: It shall ever be my Prayer that the King embrace the Council of Honour and Safety, and let other Princes imbrace that of force.

*Couns.* But good Sir, it is his Prerogative which the King stands upon, and it is the Prerogative of the Kings, that the Parliaments do all diminish.

*Just.* If your Lordship would pardon me, I would say then, that your Lordships objection against Parliaments is ridiculous. In former Parliaments three things have been supposed dishonor to the King. The first, that

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that the Subjects have conditioned with the King, when the King hath needed them, to have the Great Charter confirmed. The second that the Estates have made Treasurers for the necessary and profitable disbursing of those Sums by them given, to the end, that the Kings, to whom they were given, should expend them for their own defence, and for the defence of the Common-wealth. The third that these have prest the King to discharge some great Officers of the Crown, and to elect others. As touching the first, my Lord, I would fain learn what disadvantage the Kings of this Land have had by confirming the great Charter, the breach of which hath served only Men of your Lordships Rank, to assist their own passions, and to punish and imprison at their own discretion the Kings poor Subjects, concerning their private hatred, with the colour of the King's Service. For the King's Majesty takes no Man's Inheritance (as I have said before) nor any Man's Life, but by the Law of the Land, according to the Charter. Neither doth his Majesty Imprison any Man (matter of practice, which concerns the preservation of his estate excepted) but by the Law of the Land. And yet he useth his Prerogative as all the Kings of *England* have ever used it. The supreme reason causeth to practice many things without the advice of the Law. As for insurrections and rebellions, it useth the Marshal, and not the Common Law, without any breach of the Charter, the intent of the



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the Charter considered truly. Neither hath any Subject made complaint or been grieved, in that the Kings of this Land, for their own safeties, and preservation of their estates, have used their Prerogatives, the great Engine, on which there is written *soli Deo*. And my good Lord, was not *Buckingham* in *England*, and *Byron* in *France* condemned, their Peers uncalled? And withal, was not *Byron* utterly (contrary to the customs and privileges of the *French*) denied an Advocate to assist his defence? for where Laws forecast cannot provide remedies for future dangers, Princes are forced to assist themselves by their Prerogatives. But that which hath been ever grievous and the cause of many troubles, very dangerous, is, that your Lordships abusing the reasons of State, do punish and imprison the Kings Subjects at your pleasure. It is you my Lords, that when Subjects have sometimes need of the Kings Prerogative, do then use the strength of the Law, and when they require the Law, you afflict them with the Prerogative, and tread the great Charter (which hath been confirmed by 16 Acts of Parliament) under your feet, as a torn Parchment or waste Paper.

*Couns.* Good Sir, which of us do in this sort break the great Charter? perchance you mean, that we have advised the King to lay the new impositions.

*Just.* No my Lord; there is nothing in the great Charter against impositions; and besides that, necessity doth persuade them. And  
if



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if necessary do in somewhat excuse a private Man, *a fortiori* it may then excuse a Prince. Again, the King's Majesty hath profit and increase of Revenue by the impositions. But there are of your Lordships (contrary to the direct Letter of the Charter) that imprison the King's Subjects, and deny them the benefit of the Law, to the Kings disprofit. And what do you otherwise thereby (if the impositions be in any sort grievous) but *Renovare dolores*? And withal dig out of the dust the long buried memory of the Subjects former contentions with their King.

*Couns.* What mean you by that?

*Just.* I will tell your Lordship when I dare, in the mean time it is enough for me to put your Lordship in mind, that all the Estates in the World, in the offence of the People, have either had profit or necessity to persuade them to adventure it, of which, if neither be urgent, and yet the Subject exceedingly grieved, your Lordship may conjecture, that the House will be humble suitors for a redress. And if it be a Maxim in Policy to please the People in all things indifferent, and never suffer them to be beaten but for the Kings benefit (for there are no blows forgotten with the smart but these) then I say to make them Vassals to Vassal, is to batter down those mastering buildings, erected by *Hen. 7.* and fortify'd by his Son, by which the People and Gentry of *England* were brought to depend on the King alone. Yea my good Lord, our late dear Sovereign  
Qu.

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*Q. Elizabeth kept them up, and to their advantage, as well repair'd as ever Prince did: Defend me, and spend me, saith the Irish Churl.*

*Couns.* Then you think that this violent breach of the Charter will be the cause of seeking the confirmation of it in the next Parliament, which otherwise could never have been moved.

*Iust.* I know not my good Lord, perchance not, for if the House press the King to grant to them all that is theirs by the Law, they cannot in Justice refuse the King all that is his by the Law. And where will be the Issue of such a contention? I dare not divine, but sure I am that it will tend to the prejudice both of the King and Subject.

*Couns.* If they dispute not their own liberties, why should they then dispute the Kings liberties, which we call his Prerogative.

*Iust.* Among so many and so divers spirits, no Man can foretel what may be propounded, but however, if the matter be not slightly handled on the Kings behalf, these disputes will soon dissolve, for the King hath so little need of his Prerogative, and so great advantage by the Laws, as the fear of impairing the one, *viz.* the Prerogative, is so impossible, and the burthen of the other, *viz.* the Law, so weighty, as but by a branch of the Kings Prerogative, namely, of his remission and pardon, the Subject is no way able to undergo it. This my Lord is no matter of flourish that I have said, but it is the truth, and unanswerable.

*Couns.*

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*Couns.* But to execute the Laws very severely would be very grievous.

*Iust.* Why my Lord, are the Laws grievous which our selves have required of our Kings? And are the Prerogatives also which our Kings have received to themselves also grievous? How can such a People then be well pleased? And if your Lordship confess that the Laws give too much, why does your Lordship urge the Prerogative that gives more? Nay, I will be bold to say it, that except the Laws were better observed, the Prerogative of a Religious Prince hath manifold less perils than the Letter of the Law hath. Now my Lord, for the second and third, to wit, for the appointing of Treasurers, and removing of Counsellors, our Kings have evermore laught them to scorn that have prest either of these, and after the Parliament dissolved, took the Money of the Treasurers of the Parliament and recalled or restored the Officers discharged, or else they have been contented, that some such Persons should be removed at the request of the whole Kingdom, which they themselves out of their Noble Natures, would not seem willing to remove.

*Couns.* Well Sir, would you notwithstanding all these Arguments, advise his Majesty to call a Parliament?

*Iust.* It belongs to your Lordships who enjoy the King's favour, and are chosen for your able wisdom to advise the King. It were a strange boldness in a poor and private Person,

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Person, to advise Kings attended with so understanding a Council. But belike your Lordships have conceived some other way, how Money may be gotten otherwise. If any trouble should happen, your Lordship knows, that then there were nothing so dangerous for a King as to be without Money: a Parliament cannot assemble in haste, but present dangers require hasty remedies. It will be no time then to discontent the Subjects by using any unordinary ways.

*Counf.* Well Sir, all this notwithstanding we dare not advise the King to call a Parliament, for if it should succeed ill, we that advise should fall into the King's disgrace. And if the King be driven into any extremity, we can say to the King, that because we found it extremely displeasing to his Majesty to hear of a Parliament, we thought it no good manners to make such a motion.

*Iust.* My Lord, to the first let me tell you that there was never any just Prince that hath taken any advantage of the success of Councils, which have been founded on reason. To fear that, were to fear the loss of the Bell, more than the loss of the Steeple, and were also the way to beat all Men from the studies of the King's Service. But for the second, where you say you can excuse your selves upon the King's own protesting against a Parliament, the King upon better consideration may encounter that fineness of yours.

*Counf.* How I pray you?

*Iust.*



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*Just.* Even by declaring himself to be indifferent, by calling your Lordships together, and delivering to you that he hears how his loving Subjects in general are willing to supply him, if it please him to call a Parliament, for that was the common answer to all the Sheriffs in *England*, when the late benevolence was commanded. In which respect, and because you come short in all your projects, and because it is a thing most dangerous for a King to be without Treasure, he requires such of you as either mislike or rather fear a Parliament, to set down your reasons in writing, for which you either misliked or feared it. And such as wish and desire it, to set down answers to your objections: and so shall the King prevent the calling or not calling a Parliament, as some of your great Counsellors have done in many other things, shrinking up their shoulders, and saying the King will have it so.

*Counf.* Well Sir, it grows late, and I will bid you farewell, only you shall take well with you this advice of mine, that in all that you have said against our greatest, those Men in the end shall be your Judges in their own cause; you that trouble your self with Reformation are like to be well rewarded, hereof you may assure your self, that we will never allow of any invention how profitable soever, unless it proceed or seem to proceed from our selves.

*Just.* If then, my Lord, we may presume to say that Princes may be unhappy in any thing,



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thing, certainly they are unhappy in nothing more than in suffering themselves to be so inclosed. Again, if we may believe *Pliny*, who tells us, that 'tis an ill sign of Prosperity in any Kingdom or State, where such as deserve well, find no other recompence than the contentment of their own consciences, a far worse sign is it where the justly accused shall take revenge of the just accuser. But my good Lord, there is this hope remaining, that seeing he hath been abused by them he trusted most, he will not for the future dishonour his judgment (so well informed by his own experience) as to expose such of his Vassals (as have had no other motives to serve him, than simply the love of his Person and Estate) to their revenge, who have only been moved by the love of their own fortunes, and their glory.

*Couns.* But good Sir, the King hath not been deceived by all.

*Just.* No my Lord, neither have all been trusted, neither doth the world accuse all, but believe, that there be among your Lordships very just and worthy Men, as well of the Nobility as others, but those tho' most honoured in the Common-wealth, yet have not been most employed. Your Lordship knows it well enough, that Three or Four of your Lordships have thought your hands strong enough to bear up alone the weightiest affairs in the Common-wealth, and strong enough all the Land have found them to beat down whom they pleased.

*Couns.*

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*Couns.* I understand you, but how shall it appear, that they have only sought themselves?

*Just.* There needs no Perspective glass to discern it, for neither in Treaties of Peace and War, in matters of Revenue and matters of Trade, any thing hath happened either of Love or Judgment. No my Lord, there is not any Action of theirs eminent, great or small, the greatness of themselves only excepted,

*Couns.* It is all one, your Papers can neither answer, nor reply, we can. Besides, you tell the King no News in delivering these Complaints, for he knows as much as can be told him.

*Just.* For the first my Lord, whereas he hath once the Reasons of things delivered him, your Lordships shall need to be well advised in their Answers; there is no Sophistry will serve the turn where the Judge and Understanding are both supreme. For the second, to say that His Majesty knows and cares not, that my Lord, were but to despair all his faithful Subjects. But by your favour my Lord, we see it is contrary, we find now that there is no such singular Power as there hath been. Justice is described with a Balance in her Hand, holding it even, and it hangs as even now, as ever it did in any Kings days, for singular Authority begets but general Oppression.

*Couns.* However it be, that's nothing to you, that have no Interest in the King's favour,

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vour, nor perhaps in his opinion, and concerning such an one, the mistaking, or but misconceiving of any hard Word, Phrase or Sentence, will give argument to the King, either to condemn or reject the whole Discourse. And however His Majesty may neglect your Informations, you may be sure that others (at whom you point) will not neglect their Revenges, you will therefore confess it (when it is too late) that you are exceeding sorry that you have not followed my Advice. Remember Cardinal *Woolsey*, who lost all men for the King's Service, and when their Malice (whom he grieved) had outlived the King's Affection, you know what became of him as well as I.

*Just.* Yea my Lord, I know it well, that Malice hath a longer life, than either Love or Thankfulness; for as we always take more care to put off Pain, than to enjoy Pleasure, because the one has no intermission, and with the other we are often satisfied; so it is in the Smart of injury and Memory of good turns. *Wrongs are written in Marble; Benefits are sometimes acknowledged, rarely requited.* But my Lord, we shall all do the King great wrong, to judge him by common Rules, or ordinary Examples, for seeing His Majesty hath greatly enriched and advanced those that have but pretended his Service, no Man need doubt of his Goodness towards those that perform any thing worthy Reward. Nay, the not taking knowledge of those of his own Vassals that have done him wrong,  
is

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is more to be lamented, than the relinquishing of those that do him right is to be suspected. I am therefore, my Lord, held to my Resolution, by these Two besides the former. The first, that God would never have blest him with so many Years, and in so many Actions, yea, in all his Actions had he paid his honest Servants with evil for good. The second, where your Lordship tells me, that I will be sorry for not following your Advice, I pray your Lordship to believe, that I am no way subject to the common sorrowing of worldly Men, this Maxim of *Plato* being true *Dolores omnes ex amore animi erga corpus nascuntur*. But for my Body, my Mind values it at nothing.

*Causs.* What is it then you hope for or seek?

*Just.* Neither Riches nor Honour, or Thanks, but only seek to satisfy His Majesty (which I would have been glad to have done in matters of more Importance) that *I have lived and will die an honest Man.*



FINIS.